A SHORT HISTORY OF PAKISTAN

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Book Four

Alien Rule and The Rise of Muslim Nationalism

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This book is respectfully dedicated to Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan, N.Pk., H.J., President of Pakistan, as a token of gratitude for his continuous and inspiring interest in the history of this country and its correct interpretation and projection.

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GENERAL EDITOR'S NOTE

This small book is intended to serve the purpose of a text-book at the undergraduate level. It will be found to be of interest to the general reader as well.

The question may be raised: Is it possible to write the history of Pakistan at all? Can it be disentangled sufficiently from the history of India to stand by itself? The answer is that for certain periods the history of Pakistan can be narrated almost independently and for other periods the areas constituting Pakistan were drawn into the whirlpool of regional history so strongly that what happened here had only a local significance and this also could not be fully understood without reference to greater happenings involving larger areas. Sometimes the dominant role in our history was played by events outside the subcontinent, especially in Central Asia and the Iranian plateau.

So far as India is concerned, its events have not always been the dominant factor in our history. For long periods we have been the arbiters of India's historical destiny. This fact needs recognition. And if it is recognized, no eyebrows will be raised on the title of this book, even though sometimes the most significant drama may have been played outside our boundaries. Sometimes movements have taken birth or received their inspiration in Pakistan, though they worked themselves out in India as well. Numerous examples could be given of this phenomenon. When the novelty of some of the ideas put forward in this book wears off, there will be less reluctance to accept its approach to history in placing the emphasis on Pakistan and Pakistanis.

It is true that Pakistan is new, but the land and its people are not new. They have existed, by whatever names they might have been known before the present country of Pakistan came into existence. This land and these people have a history which sometimes flows by itself and sometimes it commingles its waters with other streams. This stream, however, was not lost and when it

again found a new channel, it may have lost its pristine characteristics but it could assert its own new found entity as a resurrection, not a new birth.

And finally a word about editing which in certain instances has been so drastic that the authors should be absolved of a good deal of responsibility for opinions and conclusions.

I. H. QURESHI

CHAPTER I

The Sources

The history of Pakistan in the period under study can be compiled from a variety of sources. Contemporary Persian works, Urdu and Bengali literature, accounts and diaries of foreign travellers and merchants and the records of the East India Company are the sources for reconstructing the earlier period covering the decline and disintegration of the Mughul empire, the affairs of the provincial dynasties of the eighteenth century, the political activities of the European companies and the rise of the English East India Company. The later history of British rule over the subcontinent and the political movements leading to the establishment of two sovereign states can be studied from government records, published and unpublished. The bulk of the unpublished records are stocked in the India Office Library in London. To this source may be added contemporary histories of British rule written by the English historians. A mass of material may be collected from the periodicals, journals and dailies published in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries as well as the records of political organizations. The recent research

publications on different aspects of British rule, the national movements and on Pakistan provide valuable materials for the history of the period. The source material of this history may, therefore, be broadly classified into the following groups:

A. Persian histories and literature.
B. Urdu and Bengali literature.
C. Accounts and diaries of foreign travellers.
D. Government records.
E. Records of political organizations and periodicals.
F. Contemporary histories by English historians.
G. Research publications.

Evaluation of Sources

Reference may first be made to a few significant contemporary Persian histories. The *Ahwal-i-Mahabat Jang* written by Yusuf 'Ali, son-in-law of Nawab Sarfaraz Khan, gives valuable information about the rule of Nawab 'Ali Vardi Khan, his struggle against the Marathas and his dealings with the English. Karam 'Ali, a younger contemporary of Yusuf 'Ali, compiled a history of Bengal and named it *Muzaffarnamah* after the name of his patron Muhammad Riza Khan who bore the title of Muzaffar Jang. The author of *Muzaffarnamah,* who has narrated the story of Bengal from 1722 to 1772 was, however, biased against Siraj-ud-daulah, the inveterate enemy of the East India Company. About this time another Persian history of Bengal entitled *Tarikh-i-Bangalah* was compiled by Salimullah Khan at the instance of Henry Vansittart, governor of Bengal (1760-64). The *Tarikh-i-Bangalah* begins with the subahdari of Ibrahim Khan (1689-97) and brings the account up to the end of the reign of 'Ali Vardi Khan in 1756. It affords an insight into the state of relations existing between the nawabs and the English Company and the revenue and political affairs of the period. The *Riyaz-us-Salatin* is a comprehensive Persian history of Muslim rule in Bengal written in 1787 by Ghulam Husain Salim for an English officer, George Udney. The most significant Persian history of the period of the Bengal Nawabs is, however, *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirin* compiled by Ghulam Husain Tabatabai in 1781. This voluminous work, which gives an account of the subcontinent from the earliest times to the date of its compilation, presents a connected

account of the successors of Emperor 'Alamgir I, the affairs of the nawabs of Bengal and Awadh, the nizams of Haidarabad and of the Marathas. The most valuable chapters of this book deal with the years 1707 to 1781 for which there is no other good historical narrative. The *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirin* has, thus, filled a real gap in history. It also gives an account of the affairs of the East India Company under the nawabs and the rise of the English in Bengal. Much of the value of this otherwise important historical work is diminished by some drawbacks, the most glaring of which are the author's hostility to Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah and his servility to the British. The author was notorious for his pro-English leanings and promoted his personal interests on several occasions by betraying his masters and abusing the confidence of Mir Qasim. Because of his partiality for the English, Ghulam Husain Tabatabai was necessarily prejudiced against Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah, the enemy of the English. The *Haqiqat-i-Mussalman-i-Bangalah* is another important work bearing on the history of the Muslims of Bengal. It was compiled by Fazl-i-Rabbi towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Reference may also be made to a few Persian histories which provide valuable information about Haidar 'Ali and Tipu Sultan. The *Nishan-i-Haidari* is an authentic work from the pen of Mir Husain 'Ali Khan Kirmani, who served both Haidar 'Ali and Tipu Sultan. The *Tawarikh-i-Haidar* by Lala Budh Singh gives a detailed account of the career and administration of Haidar Ali. The *Sultan-ut-Tawarikh* by an anonymous writer is another comprehensive history of the two great Muslim rulers of Mysore. The *Ahwal namah-i-Haidar 'Ali Naik* is a biographical sketch of Haidar Ali. Other Persian works compiled at the court of Mysore are Ghulam Ahmad's *Zad-i-Mujahidin,* which discusses ethical principles and the duties of a Muslim with regard to Jihad; Zain-ul-'Abidin's *Fath-ul-Mujahidin*, which deals with the organization of Tipu Sultan's army; *Zawabit-i-Sultani* on etiquette and *Tarikh-i-Tipu Sultan* by Hasan 'Ali Izzat Zain-ul-'Abidin. Two Urdu treatises written by Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan *Risalah-i-Asbab-i-Baghwat-i-Hind* and "*Hunter par Hunter*", are also significant source materials. The former deals with the causes of the "Revolt" of 1857, while the latter was a rejoinder to W.W. Hunter's book entitled *The Indian Mussalmans.*

Bengali literature made substantial progress under Muslim rulers and a large number of works were compiled in Bengali during the British period. These works reflect the society and culture of contemporary Bengal. The *Annadamangala* of Bharatchandra and the *Vidyasundara* of Ramaprasada are two important poetical works of the mid-eighteenth century. The verses give us an idea of the socio-cultural and economic conditions of the people and the influence of the European merchants on the economy of Bengal. The *Maharashtra-Purana* of Gangaram Datta refers to the Marhatta raids into Bengal and their effects on the life of the people. The work entitled *Plassey* by Nabinchandra Sen, a nineteenth century Bengali poet, records a colourful account of the Battle of Plassey which also reflects the conditions of society of the time. Among the works of the well-known novelist, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, *Anandamath* reveals the state of anarchy and insecurity in Bengal in the earlier years of the rule of the East India Company and the peasants' revolt in the province. The histories of Bengali literature by S.K. Sen, D.C. Sen and Enamul Haq give a good deal of information and are an important source material about the literary and social development in the period.

The diaries of the European travellers and merchants which throw interesting and useful light on the political, social, cultural and economic life of the people of Bengal and other parts of the subcontinent are of special value. A few of these may be mentioned; Alexander Hamilton's (1705-1708) *A New Account of the Eastern India,* L. Serafton's *Reflections on the Government of Indostan,* Stavorinus's *Voyage to the East Indies,* Robert Orme's *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindostan,* H. Verelst's *A view of the Rise and Progress of the English in Bengal,* H. C. Hill's *Bengal in 1756-1757,* James Taylor's *A Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dacca* and Alexander Dow's *Hindostan.*

The Records of the East India Company dealing with commercial, political, constitutional, financial and educational aspects of the rule of the East India Company are one of the main sources of the history of British rule. Of particular significance are the Fifth Report of James Grant on the land revenue of Bengal, Education Reports of William Adam on the state of education in

the province, the Records of the *Resumption Proceedings* and the *Census Reports*. To these may be added the *Early Annals of the English in Bengal* and the Imperial and the District Gazetteers compiled by the British administrators.

The records of the political organisations, like the Indian National Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha, the All India Muslim League are an important source of the history of the period. From these we gather a good deal of information about the successive stages of the struggle for freedom. The periodicals, dailies, monthlies and quarterlies also furnish valuable historical materials. Some of these are the *Calcutta Gazette,* the *Calcutta Chronicle,* the *Bombay Herald,* the *Tahzibul Akhlaq,* the *Dacca Review,* the *Statesman,* the *Dhumketu,* the *Hanafi,* the *Muhammadi,* the *Star,* the *Azad,* the *Dawn,* the *Indian Annual Register,* the *India Quarterly,* the *Asiatic Review,* and the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*. These contain references to the discussions and articles on various issues and problems of the times under study.

A large number of historical works were compiled by British historians. The names of a few of these may be mentioned. These are: Charles Stewart's *History of Bengal,* C.R. Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal,* Martin's *History of Eastern India,* James Mill's *History of India,* Ramsay Muir's *Making of British India,* P. E. Robert's *History of British India,* E. Thompson and G. T. Garrat's *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India,* the *Cambridge History of India* and the *Oxford History of India.* Of the histories of the English authors those written on the "Revolt" of 1857 by such historians as G. B. Malleson, T.R.E. Holmes, John Clark, Marshman, W. H. Russel and H.L.O. Garret are of much importance. The most significant work is the *Indian Mussalmans* by the civilian historian W. W. Hunter. In this book Hunter accused the Mussalmans of fomenting rebellion against British rule and at the same time revealed the British policy of distrust and suppression towards the Muslims of the subcontinent. C.F.I. Graham's *The Life and Work of Sir Sayed Ahmed* is valuable for an assessment of the services of Sayed Ahmed Khan at a very critical time in the history of the Muslim community.

A large number of research works have come out in recent times dealing with different aspects of the political, social, cultural and

economic life of the peoples of the subcontinent under British rule. Some of these are *History of Bengal, Vol. II* published by the University of Dacca; J. N. Sarkar's *Bengal Nawabs*; Mohib-bul Hasan's *Tipu Sultan*; *History of the Freedom Movement* published by the Pakistan History Board; Dr. I. H. Qureshi's *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent* and *Struggle for Pakistan*; K. K. Datt's *Alivardi and His Times*; R. C. Datt's *Economic History of India under Early British Empire*; A. R. Mallick's *British Policy and the Muslims in Bengal*; K. K. Sinha's *Economic History of Bengal*; A. Wahid Khan's *History of the Muslim League*; Cantwell Smith's *Modern Islam in India*; Khalid bin Sayeed's *Pakistan—a Formative Phase*; B. R. Ambedkar's *Pakistan or Partition of India*; Keith Callard's *Pakistan, Political Study*; Hector Bolitho's *Jinnah, The Creator of Pakistan*, G. W. Chowdhury's *Constitutional Development in Pakistan*, R. Symond's *Making of Pakistan*; Mushtaq Ahmad's *Government and Politics in Pakistan*; Wahiduzzaman's *Towards Pakistan*; and M. H. Saiyid's *Mohammad Ali Jinnah, A Politicl Study*. The speeches and writings of the political leaders are also an important source of history. In this connection mention may be made of the *Speeches and Writings of M. A. Jinnah* by Jamiluddin Ahmad, Chaudhury Khaliquzzaman's *Pathway to Pakistan*, Liaquat Ali Khan's *Pakistan, The Heart of Asia*, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's *Speeches Before the Security Council* and Field Marshal Ayub Khan's *Speeches Since October, 1958*. The *Five-Year Plans* of the Planning Commission and also the reports of the educational, legal, financial, constitutional and other commissions also supply valuable material for the history of Pakistan.

CHAPTER II

The European Settlements

New Life in Europe

The Renaissance brought about far-reaching changes in the life of the people of Europe in the fifteenth century and there was a steady rise of the new spirit of inquiry and enterprise. The Europeans made momentous discoveries and inventions which contributed to their strength in the intellectual, political, military and economic fields. With their new knowledge, they organized their life anew, improved military techniques, developed navigation and naval science and emerged as a great political force in the stream of history. It was a time that witnessed the decline of the Mughul Empire. Within a few years of the death of Emperor 'Alamgir I in 1707, the great Mughul Empire rapidly declined and disintegrated. This period was also marked by the decline of other Muslim powers in the world. The Uzbek and Astrakhani empires of Central Asia had fallen to pieces. The kingdom of Persia became the scene of confusion after the death of the great general and ruler, Nadir Shah. The mighty Ottoman Empire also developed weakness after the death of its great Sultan,

Sulaiman the Magnificent. The European maritime powers took advantage of the weakness and decline of the Muslim empires to establish their political influence and domination in the countries of the East.

The Renaissance

The spirit of the Renaissance accounted for the phenomenal rise of the European countries. For about a thousand years before the Renaissance, the Europeans had lived in a state of political and social confusion and intellectual darkness. In this period the Muslims established a vast empire extending from the confines of China and the Indus to the Atlantic, including Spain, southern France, Sicily and Southern Italy in Europe. With an extraordinary zeal for learning, the Arab Muslims revived the knowledge of the ancient world, assimilated the Hellenic philosophy and science as well as the classical learning of the Persians and the Hindus and enriched these with their own contributions. They found a large number of academies which developed into brilliant centres of learning where Literature, Philosophy, Mathematics, Astronomy, Medicine, Chemistry and other sciences made gigantic strides. There was also a remarkable progress in Architecture, Music and other fine arts. This intellectual legacy of the Arab Muslims passed into Europe largely through Spain. Speaking of the Muslim Spain, Professor Hitti observes that it was the brightest chapter in the intellectual history of medieval Europe. The Arabic-speaking peoples "were the medium through which ancient science and philosophy were recovered, supplemented and transmitted in such a way as to make possible the renaissance of Western Europe". The Muslim intellectual centres at Cordova. Seville, Toledo and Granada in Spain, Salerno in southern Italy and Palermo in Sicily acted as the media of transmission of knowledge to Europe. The Crusades were another agency through which the Europeans received the cultural influences of the Muslims. In the Crusades, the Christian Europe came into contact with the Muslims and learnt from them much of arts, industries and commerce. The European scholars and men of letters were influenced by the superior learning and knowledge of the Muslims and also struck with their spirit of investigation. This awakened in them a spirit of inquisitiveness and set

into motion an intellectual movement which culminated in the Renaissance.

Other factors leading to Renaissance were the establishment of universities in Italy and France, the development of national languages and literatures, the invention of printing and the growth of cities and commerce. As a result of the fall of Constantinople into the hands of the Ottoman Turks in 1453, many Greek scholars migrated to Italy with their classical works. As teachers in educational institutions, they stimulated the revival of ancient learning in Italy. In the medieval Europe men were virtually forbidden by the Church from applying their intellect and reason to the pursuit of knowledge. The Renaissance scholars did not follow the traditional lines of thought or the dictates of the Church fathers and theologians. They freed the human intellect from many restrictions and accepted the guidance of reason in intellectual life. They wanted to extend the frontiers of knowledge to know the unknown and explore the unexplored. This new spirit stimulated inventions and discoveries and brought momentous changes in the life of the European peoples. With this new intellectual life, Europe passed from the medieval to the modern age.

Geographical Explorations

Geographical discoveries were a natural outcome of the Renaissance. "The new age discovered the New World." The medieval Europeans had strange ideas about unknown regions and thought that these were the haunts of supernatural beings. The contact with the Muslims and the interesting accounts of Marco Polo's travels had awakened European interest in the outside world. The invention of mariner's compass was a landmark in the history of navigation and the desire for trade and wealth of the East provided incentive for maritime enterprises. For a long time in the past, trade between Europe and Asia had followed three main routes. The wares of this subcontinent and the Far East used to find their way into Europe via Syria, Black Sea coast and Egypt. When the Arab Muslims established their supremacy over the Mediterranean this merchandise began to pass through their hands to the merchants of Venice and Genoa. But the Turkish conquest of Western Asia, Egypt and Constantinople

and their control over the Mediterranean waters virtually stopped this indirect trade with the East. The European traders were now faced with a difficult problem: either they had to forgo the profits of Eastern trade in spices, gems, gold and silver, or discover a new route beyond the control of the Turks. Hostility to Islam and the desire to propagate Christianity supplied additional incentives to geographical discoveries. This was particularly true of Spain and Portugal. Spain, which had exterminated or forcibly converted her Muslim people, was inspired by a passion to extend Christianity among the "heathens" of the East. "We come to seek Christians and spices", so said the first of Vasco da Gama's sailors who landed in India.

The favourable situation of Spain and Portugal upon the Atlantic seaboard made them pioneers in geographical explorations. The Portuguese sailor, Prince Henry (1394-1460), called the Navigator, was the first to venture to distant waters and to found a school for the training of sailors. In 1442 the Portuguese mariners reached the Gulf of Guinea and discovered the home of the Negro. In 1486 Bartholomeo Diaz reached the southern point of the continent of Africa. Christopher Columbus, a Genoese by birth, proposed the bold plan of reaching the Indies by sailing westward. Helped by the Spanish Queen Isabella with three ships and requisite crews, Columbus sailed across the Atlantic and landed in the Island of Bahamas on 12 October, 1492. He named the island San Salvador. In three more voyages he reached the mainland of South America and thought that he had discovered the Indies. It was, however, realised after his death that he had discovered a new continent, not a part of the Indies. This was named America after the name of Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine navigator, who first wrote an account of this new continent. The achievement of Columbus encouraged other mariners to search for a sea route to the Indies. A Portuguese sailor, Vasco da Gama, set out from Lisbon on 20 May 1498 with four tiny ships to discover a new route to this subcontinent by way of Africa. At Malindi, north of Zanzibar, one of the prosperous Arab settlements on the coast, he enlisted the service of some experienced Arab pilots in his enterprise. Guided by them he rounded the Cape of Good Hope and landed at the port of Calicut on the west coast of the subcontinent on 20 May 1498. Thus Vasco da

Gama won his fame as the discoverer of the new sea-route to the Indies. This discovery effected momentous changes in the traffic and commerce of the world. It opened the East to the Europeans.

The discovery of America and the new sea-route to India produced a stir in Europe and led to the exploration of new lands and establishment of colonies and trade. Amerigo Vespucci rounded the coast of South America in 1499. The Portuguese, Pedro Alvarez Cabral, reached Brazil, and the Spanish, Balboa, crossed the Isthmus of Panama in 1513 and discovered the Pacific. In 1519 Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese sailor in the service of Spain, rounded South America and discovered the Philippines. One of his ships returned to the port of Seville. This completed the circumnavigation of the globe proving the roundness of the earth. The French sailors discovered the St. Lawrence river and the Mississippi valley. The English sailors tried to discover a northern route around America and Norway to the East. In doing so Drake circumnavigated the earth in 1580. The Dutch sailor, Barents, discovered the Spitsbergen islands in the Arctic Ocean.

The geographical discoveries effected revolutionary changes in the commercial life of Europe. The centre of commerce shifted from the Mediterranean region to the Atlantic coast which became the highway of commerce along two different routes, one around Africa to the East and the other across the Atlantic to America. Growth of commerce fostered industries. These brought in modern commercial and industrial life in the European countries. Moreover, geographical discoveries were followed by a race among the European nations for establishing trading settlements, colonies and empires in America and in the East, who thus entered into a phase of extra-European politics.

Strength of New Knowledge

Spain, Portugal, Holland, England and France emerged as naval powers after the geographical discoveries of the Renaissance. In other countries of Europe, such as Austria, Prussia and Russia gradually arose strong monarchies from the seventeeth century. By the eighteenth century, England, France, Austria, Prussia and Russia had substantially strengthened their military and naval resources by the new knowledge and inventions, and

some of them had begun to augment their economic resources from the profitable commerce with the East and the New World. The invention of gun powder and the advance of military science effected a revolution in the art of warfare with the result that the Europeans acquired superiority in arms and military tactics. Their cannon and small guns were superior to those used in the East. Their soldiers were also better disciplined. Their ships were more effective in naval warfare as they were fully armed. Galileo Galilei (1564-1641), the Italian scientist, perfected the telescope and the English physicist, Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727), established the Law of Gravitation and developed the Navigation Tables. These, along with developments in other branches of knowledge, helped the supremacy of the European countries over the seas. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) developed the calculus which was of inestimable value in engineering and mechanical works. The discovery of steam engine by the English scientist James Watt in 1769 was a landmark in the field of transport, industry and commerce. The invention of printing by Johannes Gutenburg (1400-1468) contributed to progress in science and wide diffusion of knowledge.

Rise of European Monarchies

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, England established a strong monarchical government under the Tudors and Stewarts. Her proximity to the seas and the enterprising spirit of the people made England one of the foremost naval powers of the time. This period also saw the emergence of a strong monarchy in France under the Bourbon dynasty Austria appeared as a predominant monarchy in the continent of Europe under Emperor Charles V (1519-1556), who was also elected Emperor of the Holv Roman Empire. Charles V was the contemporary of Sultan Sulaiman, and in the contest he lost the whole of Hungary to his successful rival, the Ottomn Sultan. After the death of Charles V, his brother Ferdinand (1556-1564) succeeded to the throne of Austria and the Holy Roman Empire and his son Philip II (1556-1598) came into the possession of Spain and its dependencies. Philip II was an able king but a bigoted Catholic. He crusaded against the Moors in North Africa and led a combination of the Christian monarchies of Europe in a religious war against the

Ottomans and won a naval victory at the battle of Lepanto in 1571. From the seventeenth century Prussia and Russia appeared as military powers in Europe. Frederick William II (1713-1740), King of Prussia, organised a strong force which paved the way for the military glories and greatness of his son Frederick II (1740-1786). About this time the disorganized and semi-civilized country of Russia was modernized by its young and ambitious Tsar, Peter (1682-1725), called the Great because of his enduring work for his kingdom. He and his successors, particularly Tsarina Catherine (1762-1796), adopted an aggressive policy towards the Ottoman Empire which they passed on to their successors, Tsar Paul I, Alexander I, Nicholas and Alexander II. The Ottoman Empire suffered great losses in territory on account of their hostility.

The Portuguese

The Portuguese sailor Vasco da Gama discovered a new sea-route to the subcontinent and his countrymen became pioneers in the field of direct trade with the East. Vasco da Gama had first landed at the port of Calicut which belonged to the Zamorin, a Hindu King. Opposed by the Arab traders at Calicut, Vasco da Gama returned home after visiting Cochin and Cannanore (1499). Then the king of Portugal sent a larger fleet under Pedro Alvarez Cabral, the discoverer of Brazil. The Arab traders foiled his attempt to establish a trading settlement at Calicut. For some years the fleets of the Mamluke Sultan of Egypt and Gujarat opposed the Portuguese fleet in the Red and the Arabian seas. However, in a naval engagement off Diu, de Almeidia, destroyed the opposition in 1508. His successor, Alfonso de Albuquerque, aimed at establishing a Portuguese empire in the East. In 1510 he captured the rich port of Goa belonging to the Bijapur Sultanate. The following year he captured the strategic port of Malacca and this gave the Portuguese the control of the straits of Malacca and the Spice Islands. The Arab traders were ousted from this area and they lost their monopoly of trade. Albuquerque's hope that the capture of Malacca from the Arabs would ruin Cairo in course of time was fulfilled. His attempt to capture Aden and to establish himself on the Red Sea failed. However, he succeeded in occupying the island port of Ormuz

on the Persian Gulf in 1515. A Persian force ousted the Portuguese from Ormuz in 1622. The successors of Albuquerque established a number of trading settlements, such as Diu, Daman, Salsette, Bassein, Chaul and Bombay on the west and San Thomé on the east coast. The Portuguese also settled in Ceylon. In the middle of the sixteenth century they built trading factories in Chittagong, Hugli and some other places in Bengal.

Since the Spanish sailors had discovered America, Spain sought to keep the continent under its exclusive control. Similarly, the Portuguese jealously guarded their newly-discovered route in order to maintain their monopoly of trade in the East. A decree issued by Pope Alexander VI in 1493 drew an imaginary line in the Atlantic and granted Spain absolute sovereignty of the world west of that line and gave Africa and Asia to Portugal east of the line. The decree of the Pope was considered to be sacred and inviolable in all Catholic countries. So the Portuguese enjoyed undisturbed monopoly of the profitable eastern trade for about a century. But when England, Holland and other countries turned Protestant and repudiated Papal authority in the sixteenth century, the Papal Bull was no longer binding upon them. They now felt no religious scruples in fighting against the Portuguese for the mastery of the Indies. The Spanish and the Portuguese navies were no longer supreme in the waters after the English had destroyed the Spanish Armada in 1588. England and Holland also discovered the new route for themselves. So from the opening years of the seventeenth century these two Protestant countries resolved to force their way into the East and they succeeded. The Portuguese opposed their new rivals tooth and nail but they failed on account of the rising maritime strength of the Dutch and the English and the vigour of their trading companies. About this time the Portuguese naval power began to decline. "The Portuguese navy had led the world in rig of ships, navigation techniques and gunnery. But long absence of any serious competition led to poor designs and unwieldy ships. There was also a fall in the standard of shipmanship at a time when the English and the Dutch were learning ocean navigation."

The Portuguese could not compete successfully with their Dutch and English rivals. The Portuguese trade declined and their missionary activities made them unpopular in this subcontinent

as also in other places of the East. 'The trading methods of the Portuguese sea captains had more than a flavour of piracy about them.' They plundered the Arab merchant ships and did not even spare the ships carrying pilgrims for the Hajj. Albuquerque massacred the entire Muslim population of Goa at the time of its conquest. They raided coastal territories and carried off women and children whom they sold as slaves. They forcibly converted people to Christianity and treated them with unspeakable cruelty. Himself a Catholic like the Portuguese, Bernier, a French traveller in the eighteenth century, speaks contemptuously of their activities and writes that 'the infamous scoundrels', boast "that they make more Christians in a twelvemonth than all the missionaries of the Indies do in ten years. A strange mode is this of propagating our holy religion by the constant violation of its most sacred precepts, and by the open contempt and defiance of its most awful sanctions." Moreover, Portuguese hostility towards the Muslims was undisguised. That is why they earned the hatred of the people and incurred the resentment of the rulers. In Hugli the Portuguese had an important settlement and they were granted a monopoly of salt trade and some commercial concessions in Bengal. Even then, they carried on piracy, plundering, enslavement of the people and forcible conversions. They allied themselves with the Arakanese pirates, ravaged the islands and even raided and plundered territories of Bengal as far as Dacca. The Portuguese of Hugli earned the displeasure of Shah Jahan by seizing some of his richly laden boats and carrying away some of his female servants including two slave-girls of Mumtaz Mahal. For these and several other reasons, the Emperor resolved to punish them. In 1632 Qasim Khan, the subahdar of Bengal, attacked their settlement. The Portuguese fought against the Mughul forces, but were overpowered. A large number of the Portuguese fell fighting and many of them were taken as prisoners to Agra. Thus the Portuguese settlement in Hugli fell and with its fall the Portuguese trade in the province practically ceased. Within a few years of this the Portuguese settlements, with the exception of Goa, Daman and Diu, fell into the possession of either the Dutch or the English.

The Dutch

The Dutch made the first assault on the Portuguese monopoly

of the eastern trade. In 1596 a Dutchman, Cornelius Houtman, sailed to Sumatra and Bantam by the Cape route. Several other exploratory expeditions of private Dutch companies proved successful. These encouraged the Dutch merchants to form the United East India Company of the Netherlands in 1602. The Dutch Company preferred spice trade with the Malay Archipelago. The Portuguese, who had already built their trading settlements in the area, offered stiff resistance. The Dutch, however, overcame the opposition and captured the Portuguese possession of Amboyna. Within a few years they extended their trade and established an important settlement in Batavia in 1619. In 1641 they ousted the Portuguese from the strategic port city of Malacca. The Dutch also seized the Portuguese settlement of Ceylon in 1658. By this time the English merchants had built trading settlements in Java, Moluccas and the neighbouring islands. However, the Dutch succeeded in the course of a few years in ousting their English rivals and establishing their monopoly in the spice and pepper trade of Sumatra, Java and Moluccas.

The Dutch found a ready market for the cotton goods of this subcontinent in the Spice Islands. They settled at Pulicat, north of Madras, and later at Masulipatam, Surat, Pipli, Chinsura, Qasimbazar, Baranagore, Patna, Balasore, Nagapatam and Cochin. They carried textiles, raw silk, saltpetre, rice, opium and indigo of Bengal, Bihar and Gujarat, exchanged these commodities with spices and pepper of the Malay Archipelago and made enormous profits. The Dutch confined themselves to the spice and pepper trade of the Archipelago. Even then, the English treated them as rivals. The Dutch drove a prosperous trade with Bengal, where they established, beginning from 1653, several trading centres at Chinsura, a suburb of Hugli, Baranagore, a village north of Sutanati, Qasimbazar near Murshidabad and Dacca. The extensive trade concessions granted to the English Company by Prince Shuja' and Emperor Farrukh Siyar had an adverse effect on the Dutch trade in Bengal. The Dutch like other merchants paid a duty of 2½%, while the English traders were exempted from all duties and had only to pay a nominal sum of Rs. 3,000 annually for the extensive trade they carried on in the province. As a result of this great privilege, the English Company out-distanced the Dutch in commercial competition.

When the English became supreme in Bengal, the Dutch settlements were gradually absorbed by them.

The Danes

The Danes, who were a maritime people, longed for a share in the lucrative eastern trade. They formed an East India Company in 1616 and came to this subcontinent by the Cape route. They set up a factory at Tranquebar in the Tanjore district on the east coast in 1620. Their important settlement was Serampore in Bengal. It was founded in 1755 in the time of Nawab 'Ali Vardi. Then Danish trade did not flourish. Their missionaries at Serampore, however, played a significant role in the propagation of Christianity. The Danish traders sold their factories to the English in 1845.

The Germans

The German traders followed the other Europeans in eastern trade. They established a factory at Hugli in the time of the nawabs of Bengal. In 1744 the German traders quarrelled with Saulat Jang, the faujdar of Hugli, over the payment of customs duty. They made a night attack on the fort of Hugli. The attempt failed. This led to a counter-attack on the German factory. After a surprise attack in the night, the Germans dispersed the forces of Sujan Singh, the faujdar's deputy. On learning this, Nawab 'Ali Vardi Khan sent his general Mir Ja'far to chastise the German traders. Mir Ja'far besieged their factory; the Germans took to their ships and escaped. After this the German trade in the province practically came to a close.

The English East India Company

Throughout the sixteenth century the English merchants craved for direct trade with the subcontinent, but the English sailors did not enter the area of the new sea-route round the Cape of Good Hope for fear of the Portuguese naval strength. So they tried to discover a northern route to the Indies. The earlier exploratory expeditions of the English sailors, Hore, Willoughby, Frobisher and Davis, to the Indies by the north-west or north-east passage did not succeed. The enterprising sea-captain, Sir Francis Drake, succeeded in this adventure in 1580.

Sailing by the northern route he visited the Moluccas or the Spice Islands and returned by the south-western route. This successful voyage and the English victory over the Spanish Armada inspired the English traders and sailors with a spirit of enterprises. Their sea captains were encouraged to undertake voyages to the eastern waters. James Lancaster reached Cape Comorin and Penang between the years 1591 and 1593. Some English traders, namely, Ralph Fitch and Newberry, accompanied by Leedes, a jeweller, and Story, a painter, journeyed overland to the subcontinent in 1583. For some time they were prisoners of the Portuguese at Ormuz and Goa. After release, Story became a monk, Leedes entered the Mughul service and Newberry died on the return journey. Fitch, however, visited Bengal, Burma, Malacca and Ceylon and returned to England in 1591. Another adventurous English trader, John Mildenhall, reached the subcontinent by the overland route in 1599. He spent seven years in the East and visited the court of Emperor Akbar at Agra. The reports of these traders about the wealth of the Mughul empire and the East roused a strong desire in the minds of the English merchants to share the profits of the lucrative eastern trade.

The English merchants took a momentous step by forming an association known as the East India Company. On 31 December 1600, this East India Company received from Queen Elizabeth a charter which granted exclusive trading rights to "the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies". The prestige of the naval victory over the Armada emboldened the English sea captains to make their way to the eastern waters in 1601. At first the English merchants tried to establish spice trade with Sumatra, Java and Moluccas. But the stiff opposition of the Portuguese as well as of the Dutch traders forced them to divert their trading activities to the subcontinent. In 1608 the East India Company sent Captain Hawkins to assess the possibilities of commercial contacts with the Mughul empire. In spite of the Portuguese opposition Hawkins succeeded in disembarking at Surat and visiting the court of Emperor Jahangir in 1609. The Emperor permitted the English merchants to settle at Surat. But the Portuguese and the Surat merchants opposed their settlement. The English Captain, Henry Middleton, threatened to damage the trade of the Surat merchants in the

Red Sea. Consequently, the Surati merchants withdrew their opposition. Captain Best defeated the Portuguese fleet in 1612 and entered the port of Surat. In 1613 Jahangir issued a *farman* allowing the English to establish a factory at Surat. A foothold once obtained, the English traders gradually extended their trade inland. In 1615 James I, King of England, accredited Sir Thomas Roe as his ambassador to the Mughul court to ask for some trading facilities for the English merchants. A man of learning and agreeable manners, Roe was favourably received by the Emperor. He stayed at the court up to 1618 and secured from Jahangir several privileges for the East India Company, particularly permission to establish factories in certain places of the Mughul Empire. As a result of this concession, the English merchants opened within a year factories at Agra, Ahmadabad and Broach, besides Surat. In 1668 the East India Company received possession of the Portuguese settlement of Bombay from King Charles II, who had obtained it as a part of the dowry of his Portuguese wife, Catherine of Braganza. On the eastern coast the English built factories at Masulipatam, a seaport of the Muslim kingdom of Golkunda, in 1611 and obtained in 1632 from its Sultan the "Golden Farman" which granted them free trade on the annual payment of 500 *pagodas* only. In 1634 they opened a factory at Madras on a piece of land obtained on lease from the ruler of Chandragiri, and built there a fort known as Fort St. George.

In the north-east, the first important settlement of the English was founded at Balasore in Orissa in 1633. For some years they traded with Bengal and Bihar through this port. To meet the requirements of a large volume of trade they felt the necessity of a trading station in the interior of the province. In 1651, in the reign of Shah Jahan, they were allowed to open a factory at Hugli. Gabriel Boughton, a surgeon in the service of the Company, worked as a court physician to Prince Shuja', subahdar of Bengal. He obtained a *nishan* from his patron which granted the English merchants trading privilege in the province free of all duties on the payment of a sum of Rs. 3,000 a year. This wide concession encouraged the English to extend their trade in Bengal by opening factories at Dacca in 1658, Malda in 1676 and in Qasimbazar and other places. They also established their settle-

ment in Patna and Monghyr about this time.

In 1686, in the reign of Emperor 'Alamgir I, the English merchants involved themselves in trouble. In 1680 the Emperor withdrew the special concession of trading in return for a fixed sum of Rs. 3,000 and imposed on them a $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ *ad valorem* duty, which was paid by all other merchants, including the Muslim traders. The payment of a small fixed sum had given the English a great advantage over others. It had meant a loss to the imperial exchequer. With this concession, the English trade had increased manifold. Moreover, they abused this privilege. To evade duties at Surat, the English merchants brought goods from England or China direct to Bengal. They also used to pass merchandise from other provinces through Bengal to England and China. Originally the area of special privilege was Bengal, but they extended it to other provinces. So the Emperor felt that he was justified in cancelling the special concession and placing them on a footing of equality with other European merchants. But the English traders grumbled at the withdrawal of the special privilege. Soon they became defiant. Some local merchants and brokers lodged a heavy claim against the English factory at Qasimbazar. The qazi decreed Rs. 43,000 against the English traders. Job Charnock, the chief of the factory, refused to pay and he and his colleagues fled to Hugli. At Hugli they clashed with the faujdar's men and plundered and burnt the town. Sailing down the river, they seized Hijli and then burnt Balasore and captured two ships belonging to Sha'yistah Khan and Prince A'zam (1686). The Mughul generals, however, ousted them from Balasore and the English sailed to Madras. The English in Surat also showed their hostility by capturing some merchant ships of the Muslims. A Mughul admiral, the Sidi of Janjira, placed the English chief Sir John Child in such a precarious position in Bombay that the latter made an abject appeal for pardon. Forgiving the English, the Emperor wrote on 22 February 1690, "The English having made a most humble and submissive petition—that they would present the Emperor with a fine of Rs. 1,50,000 and behave themselves no more in such a shameful manner, ... His Majesty hath pardoned their faults and agrees that they follow their trade as in former times." The English traders were allowed to return to Bengal and to settle at Sutanati (1690).

The English soon revived their trade in Bengal. In 1690 Job Charnock established a factory at Sutanati. In 1696, Sobha Singh, a zamindar in Burdwan, rebelled in alliance with an Afghan chief, Rahim Khan. This gave an excuse to the English to fortify the factory at Sutanati. In 1698 they were permitted to buy the zamindaris of the three villages, Sutanati, Kalikata and Govindapur. The city built on these came to be known as Calcutta which became the seat of government from 1700. Its fortified factory was named Fort William. Within a few years Calcutta developed into a flourishing trading centre. Circumstances favoured the province. An English surgeon, Hamilton, cured Emperor Farrukh Siyar of a painful disease. In gratitude the Emperor, in 1717, granted to the English Company many concessions including free trade in Bengal for a nominal payment of Rs. 3,000 a year. This generous concession enabled the English merchants to carry on an extensive trade in textiles, raw silk, sugar, saltpetre and other local products. This contributed to their prosperity and strength, which in turn inflated their ambitions in the days of the decline of Muslim rule.

The French

The French merchants had long desired to have direct trade with the subcontinent. Individual French merchants, such as Jean Baptiste Tavernier and Francois Bernier, came to the subcontinent in the middle of the seventeenth century. From 1640 to 1666, Tavernier made five voyages for commercial purposes. The French ministers, Richelieu and Colbert, felt the necessity of organizing a commercial association for regular trade in the East. Accordingly the French East India Company (Compagnie des Indes Orientales) was formed in 1664 at the instance of Colbert and King Louis XIV. It was created and financed by the state. The French merchants settled at Surat in 1668, at Masulipatam in 1669, at Pondicherry near Madras in 1673 and at Chandarnagar in Bengal in 1674. They built factories in Mauritius in 1721, in Mahe on the Malabar coast in 1725 and in Karikal in 1739. Initially they faced an opposition from the Dutch; but they kept a firm hold on trade and did remarkably well. The French Company, which was one of the last European merchant communities to come to the East, soon emerged as

a powerful rival of the English Company. For about a century after their arrival, the French concentrated on the promotion of trade. But their aims and attitudes underwent a change subsequent to the outbreak of the War of Austrian Succession (1744-48) in Europe and hostilities with the English in the Carnatic. The military and political weakness of Muslim rule in the Deccan was exposed in these campaigns. This encouraged Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry since 1742, to conceive an ambition for the establishment of a French dominion in the subcontinent. The English Company also began to mature a similar scheme of political domination. The Anglo-French struggle that was touched off by their rivalries led the way to the foundation of the British empire in the subcontinent.

Anglo-French Struggle

The Anglo-French War that continued for two decades was caused by several factors. First, there was serious competition between the French and English companies in trading activities. Both of these had outdistanced other European rivals in this field. Each one of them now wanted to beat the other to monopolize the lucrative trade of the subcontinent. This rivalry naturally led to clashes and conflicts. Secondly, there was the longstanding enmity between England and France in Europe. The English and the French traders carried with them their hatred and hostility against each other to the East. So their commercial rivalry was complicated by embittered national feelings. In the War of Austrian Succession, which began between Austria and Prussia, France sided with the Austrian Queen, Maria Theresa. England joined the Prussian King Frederick the Great. The hostilities between the English and the French in Europe passed on to their nationals in the subcontinent and the two trading communities came into armed conflict.

Lastly, the conflicting political ambitions of the English and the French companies added violence to the struggle. The political turmoil in the Carnatic as well as the Deccan encouraged them to make a bid for the establishment of political supremacy in the subcontinent. Commercially, the English and the French Companies were prosperous. They were entrenched in important commercial centres; the French commanded Pondicherry and the

English Madras and the fort of St. David, a little south of Pondicherry, on the Coromandel coast, which along its hinterland was named as the Carnatic by the Europeans. Pondicherry, the principal French factory with its advantageous situation, was the reservoir of their strength. The English Company's strong base was the strategically situated settlement of Madras. So, Pondicherry and Madras were the main centres of operations and the Coromandel coast became the theatre of war in the Anglo-French struggle. These trading settlements of the English and the French belonged to the territories of the Carnatic and in consequence the long-drawn Anglo-French warfare affected this region and its rulers were drawn into it. It needs to be emphasised in this connection that the English and French settlements were situated on the coast and that their strength was built on the navy and command over the sea. The local authorities, the Nawab of the Carnatic and the Nizam, the subahdar of the Deccan, did not possess any naval force. Therefore, they could not exercise any effective control over the companies and their agents. This weakness of the Muslim rulers, shown in the course of the Anglo-French struggle in the Carnatic, made the contending European companies conscious of their strength on the coast and the sea and encouraged them to advance their political ambitions.

It was a time when the Mughul Empire was on the decline, a subject which will be discussed in the following pages. The political scene in the Carnatic and the Deccan was confused. The Nizam was practically independent of the Mughul Emperor. The Nawab of Arcot, who was the governor of the Carnatic, also behaved as an independent prince, his suzerain, the Nizam, having no effective authority over him. Succession disputes and intrigues were common at the courts of Arcot and Haidarabad. The Marathas, who had taken advantage of the decline of the Mughul Empire, created confusion throughout the Deccan, The Nizam was so much pre-occupied in protecting his dominions from the plundering raids of the Marathas that he could not notice the quiet and imperceptible growth of the English and the French power in the South. The French and the English companies joined in the succession disputes in the Carnatic and the Deccan with the intention of promoting their political influence at the two courts. In this way these rulers were involved in the Anglo-French struggle

and the Carnatic and Haidarabad turned into the arena of warfare. It was this warfare that revealed the military weakness of the local authorities and the superiority of the European military organization.

At the outbreak of the hostilities in 1744, the English and the French companies seemed equally matched in strength and resources. Both had an expanding trade, a large number of factories, several fortified settlements and efficient naval forces. They were also backed by two powerful European countries of the time. The way the French launched a brilliant attack upon the English, beat them in a series of engagements and captured Madras and also established their political influence at the courts of Arcot and Haidarabad, in the earlier phase of the struggle, exhibited their superiority over their rivals. But in the later phase of this contest, the French suffered a setback and, finally, the English inflicted a ruinous defeat on them and emerged unrivalled in political strength. The ultimate triumph of the English in the long struggle demonstrated that the French superiority was more superficial than real. In fact, the English Company was stronger than its rival in financial power, commercial wealth and material resources. "The English Company was by far the wealtheir body, and drove the more vigorous trade. Its fleets of merchantmen were larger, and more regular in their voyages to and fro". It also enjoyed the advantages of a private corporation. As it was not dependent upon the state, it escaped the interference of the home government in its affairs. This allowed considerable initiative to the English Company and enabled its employees to display energy and resourcefulness in solving their problems. The French Company differed strikingly from its rival. It functioned more as a subordinate department of the French government than as a community of merchants. Since it was administratively and financially dependent upon the home government, the company was too much subject to governmental interference and dictates. In consequence, it had little scope to show initiative in action and develop a spirit of enterprise, which were essential for a merchant body separated by many thousand miles from the home country. As a result, the French Company proved a burden to France, while the English Company was looked upon

as a national asset. These fundamental defects placed the French Company at a great disadvantage in its struggle against the English Company.

In the War of Austrian Succession England and France took opposite sides. The French government wanted the Anglo-French hostility to be confined to Europe and to prevent it from spreading among the English and French merchants in the Deccan. So in 1742, it made overtures to the English East India Company with a view to neutralizing the Indian settlements of both nations, but failed to come to a definite agreement. It is to be noted that the English were the first to open hostilities. In 1745, a royal fleet under Commodore Barnet appeared on the Coromandel coast, captured the French ships and threatened Pondicherry. Joseph Francois Dupleix, governor-general of Pondicherry, addressed an appeal to Anwar-ud-din, Nawab of the Carnatic. The Nawab forbade the English from engaging in warfare on Mughul territory. This saved Pondicherry. Dupleix then planned an attack on Madras. He summoned La Bourdonnais, the French governor of Mauritius, for help. In 1746, the French fleet under La Bourdonnais attacked Madras. After a feeble resistance, Nicholas Morse, governor of Madras, surrendered the fort to the French. The capture of Madras was a great triumph for Dupleix and the French, who then launched an attack on Fort St. David, where the refugees from Madras had gathered. Stringer Lawrence, a brave officer and sound tactician, who was destined to play a significant role in the Anglo-French-struggle, repelled the French attack. Following this the English fleet laid siege to Pondicherry. Dupleix put up an able defence and the English raised the siege after losing one thousand men. About this time the War of Austrian Succession ended in Europe and the contending parties concluded the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. Under the terms of this treaty France restored Madras to the English in exchange for Louisbourg in North America. The first round of the Anglo-French struggle thus closed with a signal French victory.

The English and the French on the Coromandel coast lived under the protection of the Nawab of the Carnatic. The Nawab was, therefore, drawn into the vortex of their struggle. When the French advanced upon Madras in 1746, the English had

sought the protection of the Nawab. Dupleix had obtained beforehand the tacit consent of the Nawab for advancing on Madras on the understanding that the town would be handed over to him after it had been conquered. But the promise was not kept. On the other hand, La Bourdonnais started negotiating with the English for the restoration of the city on payment of a heavy ransom. Nawab Anwar-ud-din sent an army to enforce his claim. To the surprise of all, a handful of French troops defeated the Nawab's army of 10,000 at San Thome (1746). This victory was significant; it reflected the military weakness of the local authorities. It also revealed that the unwieldy and ill-disciplined Muslim army was incapable of standing against a small contingent of trained European soldiers. This raised the political ambitions of Dupleix who perceived that his small but well-disciplined army might play a decisive role in establishing French influence at the courts of the local rulers. The English could then be easily eliminated from the field. Henceforth, this shrewd Frenchman began to take active interest in local politics and availed himself of every opportunity to extend French influence in the South. The succession disputes that broke out in the Carnatic and Haidarabad favoured his plans.

On the death of the great statesman and founder of the state of Haidarabad, Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah, in 1748, his son, Nasir Jang, and, grandson (daughter's son), Muzaffar Jang came into conflict for succession.. A similar contest arose for the *masnad* of the Carnatic. Chanda Sahib, a son-in-law of the former Nawab, Dost Ali, who had been killed by the Maratha raiders in 1743, contested the claim of Anwar-ud-din, who had been appointed Nawab of Arcot by the late Nizam. Chanda Sahib united his forces with those of Muzaffar Jang. This presented Dupleix with the opportunity he was waiting for. He espoused the cause of Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang in the hope that if they were installed in power in Arcot and Haidarabad respectively with the help of the French arms, then the ruler of the Carnatic as well as his suzerain, the Subahdar of the Deccan would remain subservient to their French patrons. The combined armies of the Carnatic and Haidarabad, supported by the French troops, defeated and killed Anwar-ud-din at Ambar in 1749. Chanda Sahib was placed on the *masnad* of Arcot. The French

received from him a liberal grant of 80 villages a round Pondicherry. Thus Dupleix was able to establish French influence in the Carnatic.

Afraid of the rising influence of their rival, the English took up the cause of Nasir Jang and Mohammad Ali, an illegitimate son of Nawab Anwar-ud-din, who had taken shelter in Trichinopoly after the death of his father. Thus the two European companies ranged themselves against each other in the disputes of the local rulers to promote their political interests. The English troops, 600 in number, under Stringer Lawrence, helped Nasir Jang. Nasir Jang gained some initial successes over Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib in the Carnatic territory and even captured his rival. Chanda Sahib was obliged to fall back upon Pondicherry. It seemed that the French had received a setback and that the English cause was on the way to recovery. But this reverse was only temporary. Dupleix met the crisis with cold courage. He intrigued first with Nasir Jang, then with disaffected individuals in his camp. The French troops captured Masulipatam and Trivadi, and Bussy, a resolute soldier, took Jinji, a position considered invincible. About this time Nasir Jang was assassinated (1750). Muzaffar Jang was released and installed as the subahdar of the Deccan at Pondicherry. Muzaffar Jang rewarded the French by making over to them the towns of of Divi and Masulipatam. The new subahdar also conferred on Dupleix the title of the 'suzerain of southern India from the Kistna to the Cape Comorin". Although this title did not give actual power to its recipient it, however, greatly added to his prestige in the eyes of the local rulers and "enabled him to assume the state and even the dress of a prince". The French general, Bussy, escorted Muzaffar Jang from Pondicherry to Haidarabad (1751). After a short while Muzaffar Jang was killed in a skirmish. Thereupon, Bussy placed Salabat Jang, the third son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, on the throne (1751). He stayed in Haidarabad to protect his protege against internal and external enemies. The French political influence was thus definitely established in the Carnatic and Haidarabad and Dupleix's dream of an empire seemed likely to be realized. In 1753 Bussy obtained from Salabat Jang the Nothern Sarkars, that is, the valuable districts south of Orissa and north of the Carnatic extending

about six hundred miles along the coast, for the French for the maintenance of their troops.

By placing his proteges on the thrones of the Carnatic and Haidarabad Dupleix had reached the apogee of his fortunes in 1751. From that year, however, his influence began to wane. The success of the French awakened the English Company to the gravity of the danger to which it was exposed. It now resolved to devote its entire resources to stem the tide and establish its own influence at the courts of the local rulers. With this object in view the English sent sufficient troops and equipment to help Mohammad 'Ali at Trichinopoly, which was closely besieged by Chanda Sahib and his French allies. In this critical situation, the English authorities at home also came forward and gave valuable help to the Company. The fall of Trichinopoly to Chanda Sahib and the French was imminent. Robert Clive, a clerk from Madras who had turned a soldier, suggested a bold plan for the relief of Trichinopoly. He proposed an expedition against Arcot, the capital of Chanda Sahib, as a means of diverting the attention of the Nawab and the French from the siege of Trichinopoly. This plan was approved and Clive was entrusted with the command of a small force. By a daring expedition in August 1751, Clive seized the fort of Arcot. The news of the fall of Arcot obliged Chanda Sahib to send half of his army to recover his capital. Clive stood the siege gallantly for fifty-three days and then he was reinforced by troops from Madras. The Rajas of Mysore and Tanjore joined Mohammad 'Ali and the English. The Marathas fished in the troubled waters and helped the English. All these factors turned the tide against the French. Clive beat off his besiegers at Arcot. He followed up his success by victories at Arni and Coveripak. Trichinopoly was relieved and Jacques Franccois Law, the French commander, was forced to capitulate at Sritrangam (June 1752). Chanda Sahib was driven to surrender to the general of the Raja of Tanjore, and was then treacherously murdered. Muhammad 'Ali now became the undisputed Nawab of the Carnatic. As a result, the English replaced the French in the Carnatic. The fighting between the two companies continued in the Carnatic indecisively. But the restoration of the French influence at the court of Arcot was ruled out. The opponents of Dupleix gained influence,

and even Bussy urged him to make peace with the English. A peace conference was held in 1753 at Sadras, a Dutch settlement between Madras and Pondicherry. The representatives of Dupleix met those of the English. Neither side was prepared for a compromise. The French produced patents from Salabat Jang and the Mughul Emperor himself appointing Dupleix as the Nawab of the Carnatic. The English put forward patents in favour of Muhammad 'Ali. Dupleix refused to moderate any of his demands, and the English retorted that they were not "begging a peace". The conference failed.

The home authorities of both of the companies disapproved of this private warfare while England and France were officially at peace in Europe. The French government sent Godehau in 1754 to supersede Dupleix. Godeheu assumed charge of Pondicherry in August and brought about a suspension of the conflict. This was followed by a provisional treaty in January 1755 by which both the companies agreed to interfere no further in the disputes of local rulers, and to renounce all offices and dignities conferred upon their functionaries by the Muslim rulers. The right of either party to its possessions was guaranteed with the exception that the English would receive either Masulipatam or Divi in the Northern Sarkars, which they had occupied. This terminated the second phase of the Anglo-French struggle. Dupleix was recalled. He spent the rest of his life in disgrace and poverty. Thus ended the romantic career of a brilliant political adventurer who had failed to realize his ambition of founding a French empire in the East.

Dupleix excelled in politics and diplomacy. Daring and energetic, he was also gifted with fertile imagination and a quick mind. He made brilliant plans and launched them vigorously. He began remarkably well and was fairly well on the road to success. His failure was due partly to the limitations of his own character, but largely to the incompetence of his army chiefs and officers. Moreover, Dupleix's plan was beyond the capacity of a single individual, however, brilliant and energetic he might be. He himself lacked military capacity and had to depend on his commanders and officers, who, with the exception of Bussy, showed incompetence and cowardice in carrying out his schemes. Besides, Dupleix was dictatorial by nature, and in deciding upon

plans and policies, he neither consulted his colleagues nor accepted their advice. This turned his subordinates into his enemies. Referring to the dictatorial temper of Dupleix, Ananda Ranga Pillai, his secretary, observes that "his method of doing things is not known to anyone, because none else is possessed of the quick mind with which he is gifted". Dupleix was also a man of sanguinary temperament. He was confident of his own strength to the last and refused to share the view of his army chiefs and officers that the English were militarily superior to the French. Bussy wrote to him: "I see with sorrow that events alone can convince you and that you will only recognise the value of my advice when it is too late to profit by it." The personal accomplishments of Dupleix could have been a tower of strength to the French Company, had the army commanders and officers been inspired by his self-confidence. The English were faced with a critical situation after the establishment of the French influence at the courts of Arcot and Haidarabad. They fought back with self-confidence and retrieved their position. Compared to the English, the French were in a stronger position even after the fall of Arcot, because their influence in Haidarabad was still intact. If Law and his colleagues had fought the Battle of Trichinopoly with energy and courage, the results would have been different and Dupleix would have been hailed by his countrymen as the founder of the French dominion in the subcontinent. Dupliex himself committed a great blunder in ignoring Mohammad 'Ali and Trichinopoly. Immediately after the installation of Chanda Sahib at Arcot in 1749, he could have finished the career of Mohammad 'Ali in one way or the other. This would have deprived the English of a base of operations against the French.

Finally, the absence of support from the home authorities largely accounted for the failure of Dupleix. The rulers of France failed to appreciate his aims and plans. They attached little importance to the fortunes of the Company which was a subordinate branch of the French government. The French government, which was more concerned with broader aspects of the national policy, thought that the company was fighting for trifles and was creating unnecessary bitterness between France and England which might provoke hostilities between the two countries in

America. So, they disapproved of the activities of Dupleix and recalled him. If they could see that the conflicts involved issues of national importance and had supported Dupleix with men and materials, as the English authorities had supported their company, Dupleix would have had a chance of succeeding in his plans.

The suspension of hostilities between the English and the French companies in 1755 proved to be temporary. The outbreak of the Seven Years' War (1756-63) in Europe, in which England and France were again opposed to each other, forced the two merchant communities into hostilities. Thus began the third and final round of the Anglo-French struggle. The English took the offensive immediately. Clive and Admiral Watson promptly laid siege to Chandarnagar, the French possession in Bengal. As Clive and Watson happened to be in Bengal with their fleet, the authorities of Madras could not commence hostilities. The resources of the French in Pondicherry were also inadequate for a war against the English, because the governor was committed to assist Bussy in Haidarabad. In 1758 the English fleet returned to Madras. The French government sent Count de Lally with reinforcements for an attack upon the English settlements in the South. He was invested with absolute civil and military powers. But the command of the fleet was placed under d'Ache. This divided command gave rise to differences between the army commander and the Admiral and prevented co-ordination between the land troops and the naval force. Lally, however, began the campaign in a brilliant manner. In the course of a month he captured Fort St. David (2 June 1758). He then planned an attack on Madras, the stronghold of the English in the Carnatic. But d'Ache, who had been defeated by the English navy, refused to take part in the action. Lally then laid siege to Tanjore. But the siege dragged on for lack of ammunition and also because of the absence of concord between him and his subordinates. In the meantime, the English fell upon the squadron of d'Ache and defeated it badly. At this news Lally raised the siege of Tanjore and returned to Madras. His withdrawal was a blow to the prestige of the French army.

The French fleet sailed back to France. Without a fleet it was impossible to capture Madras. Lally, therefore, advanced against

other English possessions. In about two months he seized the whole of Carnatic except Madras, Trichinopoly and Chingleput. In December 1758 when the English fleet had left the harbour, Lally laid siege to Madras. The siege lasted till the middle of February 1759. The English fleet reappeared in the harbour. This obliged Lally to withdraw. Lally had made a fatal mistake in recalling Bussy from Haidarabad (1758). This eliminated the French influence from there. Clive sent a force under Colonel Forde to the Northern Sarkars. In December 1758, Forde defeated Bussy's successor and occupied Masulipatam. Salabat Jang entered into a treaty with the English. He ceded the Northern Sarkars to the victor and pledged to have no more dealings with the French.

The English launched an offensive in the Carnatic and defeated the French near Conjeeveram. But the English fleet under Polock inflicted a severe defeat upon d'Ache's fleet which had returned to Pondicherry. At this d'Ache again went home. About this time the English commander, Sir Eyre Coote, who arrived at Madras with his men, launched a vigorous campaign against the French. After a few minor engagements, he won a decisive victory over Bussy in the Battle of Wandiwash. Coote followed up his victory by capturing French possessions in the Carnatic. He then laid siege to Pondicherry by land and sea in May 1760. Lally sought the alliance of Haidar 'Ali to retrieve the French position. Haidar sent a contingent to help the French. The chances of success were remote and the Mysore contingent returned home. The lack of funds and absence of harmony between his men compelled Lally to surrender Pondicherry unconditionally to the English on 16 January 1761. This was followed by the fall of Mahe, a French settlement on the Malabar. The English demolished the fort and city of Pondicherry. Refererring to this destruction, Orme says, "In a few months not a roof was left standing in this once fair and flourishing city." In the Anglo-French struggle for political domination the French thus suffered a disaster. Lally returned to France where he was executed. The Peace of Paris concluded in 1763, which brought the Seven Years's War to an end, restored the French settlements on the condition that these were not to be fortified. This terminated the last phase of the Anglo-French struggle in the subcontinent.

Causes of English Success

In the protracted Anglo-French struggle for supremacy the French failed to achieve their object. The organizational superiority of the English Company was one of the principal causes of its success. Being a private corporation, it was vigorous and self-reliant and it enjoyed the advantages of speedy decision and initiative in action. Its affairs evoked nation-wide interest and the home government was ever ready to promote its interests. The French Company, on the other hand, being directly under the management and control of the home government, had no initiative in policy and action and was subjected to constant state interference. Moreover, the French government, which was more concerned with Continental politics and its possessions in America, had neither the inclination nor the time to study the implication of the conflict of the French Company with the English in Asia. They viewed the conflict as a minor matter of trade and interfered without understanding the issues involved. They recalled Dupleix and frequently changed the governors of the Company. Secondly, the English Company enjoyed the advantage of Britain's naval superiority. The English navy maintained regular traffic between overseas settlements and the home country so that there was an uninterrupted flow of arms, ammunition and other war materials. The French did not have a comparable navy. The French fleet under d'Ache exhibited considerable weakness. D'Ache failed to co-operate with the land forces of Lally in the siege of Madras and his fleet was badly beaten and damaged even when it was lying in the harbour of Pondicherry. Then it left for fear of the English navy and never re-appeared in the Indian Ocean. Thirdly, the solvency of the English Company was a source of its strength. Its trading operations proceeded normally as it fought the French. Dupleix, on the other hand, subordinated trade to political ends. In consequence, the French trade languished and the Company ran short of funds. Its financial weakness greatly hampered its campaigns against the English. Fourthly, the English Company was exceptionally fortunate in having among its employees quite a few daring soldiers and shrewd organizers like Stringer Lawrence, Polock and Sir Eyre Coote who contributed substantially to its victory. The French Company also commanded the services

of some talented persons like Dupleix and Lally. Although a great politician and a brilliant diplomat, Dupleix was no soldier. His achievements were spoiled by the incompetence and cowardice of his commanders. Lally was a good general, but by his arrogance he irritated his commanders and failed to obtain the co-operation of the French fleet. Lastly, the resources of the province of Bengal, where supremacy of the English was established after the battle of Plassey, was of decisive advantage to them and greatly contributed to their final victory over the French. It provided them with a base for continuous supply of men and money to Madras and to defeat the French effectively by an attack from the north-east.

Decline of Muslims

By the opening of the eighteenth century when Europe was ruled by strong monarchies and the European merchant communities were well on the read to prosperity the Muslim powers everywhere showed a rapid decline. For eleven centuries, from the seventh to the seventeenth, the Muslims had built great empires, organized efficient and enlightened administrative systems and developed brilliant cultural traditions that gave them an honoured place in history. They were supreme over the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean and carried on a prosperous commerce with the countries of Asia, Africa and Europe. Their communal solidarity, devotion to spiritual values, integrity of character and spirit of investigation and adventure accounted for their political eminence, cultural advancement and economic prosperity. In the eighteenth century the Muslims lost these sources of strength and hence there set in the disintegration of their empires and confusion in cultural and economic fields. Analysing the causes of the decline of the Mughul Empire, Dr. I. H. Qureshi concludes that the loss of the 'sense of solidarity' of the Muslim community and the 'crisis in the Muslim character itself' were mainly responsible for the political misfortunes of the Muslims. This observation applies equally to all the contemporary Muslim empires.

The long history of the Muslims was occasionally marked by the decline of their empires. But those were merely occasions of change of leadership from one Muslim people to another or

transfer of power from one Muslim dynasty to another. Thus when the Arab empire declined the Turks assumed the leadership of the Muslims and revitalized Muslim power. In the Muslim empire in the subcontinent beginning with the Turkish Sultanate there were several dynastic changes but the empire remained in the hands of the Muslims. The opening years of the sixteenth century witnessed the rise of several strong Muslim monarchies under some great personalities, such as Shaibani Khan (1497—1509), the Uzbek leader, Shah Isma'il (1500-1524), the Safavid ruler, Salim (1512-20), the Ottoman Sultan and Babur (1497-1530), the Timurid prince, who played a momentous role in regenerating Muslim power in Asia. Shaibani Khan, the distinguished general and successful rival of Babur, established a powerful empire in Central Asia. The Uzbek empire rose to the meridian of its power under Abdullah Khan Uzbek, a contemporary of the Mughul Emperor, Akbar. In the Central Asian empire the Uzbeks were succeesded by their kinsmen, the Astrakhans, whose empire disintegrated in the eighteenth century and their petty Khanates fell a prey to the territorial ambitions of the Tsarist Russia. The Safavid dynasty of Iran produced a succession of able rulers. The power then passed into the hands of Nadir Quli, the chief of the Afshar tribe, who is well known as Nadir Shah (1736-47). After his assassination in 1747, there was complete confusion in Iran. His son, Shahrukh, was deprived of the throne by Karimdad, a chief of the Zand tribe. The Zand dynasty itself was supplanted in 1779 by Agha Muhammad Khan, the founder of the Qajar dynasty. The history of Iran after the death of Nadir Shah was marked by decadence and disintegration. The governors and tribal chiefs ruled their respective territories practically as independent provinces. This afforded opportunities to the European peoples to establish their influence in Iran. The Portuguese, who first settled in Ormuz in 1515 in the time of Shah Isma'il, were expelled by Shah 'Abbas II in 1664 with the help of the English navy. The English and the Dutch traders, who started trade in Iran from the beginning of the seventeenth century, were allowed to establish factories at Bandar Abbas. The French also began to trade with Persia from 1664 onwards. The English merchants, however, surpassed their rivals in commercial acumen. In the period of Persian decline,

they secured many economic and fiscal rights and capitulation privileges from the weak Persian monarchs. This enabled the English to build up great political influence. In the nineteenth century Russia also followed a policy of aggression towards Iran, occupied Georgia as well as Erivan and other districts and forced the Persian rulers to concede to capitulation and tariff privileges. Iran was thus turned into a chessboard of the political ambitions of two rival European powers, England and Russia.

The Ottomans, who originally began with the small principality of Yenishehr in Asia Minor in the middle of the thirteenth century, entered the imperial phase of their history by the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 in the reign of Sultan Muhammad II (1451-84). His grandson Salim (1512-20) greatly added to the power of the Ottoman empire by conquering northern Mesopotamia from Persia and Egypt, Syria and Arabia from the Mamluke rulers of Cairo. He also acquired the Khilafat for his family (1515). The Ottoman empire reached the zenith of its extent and prosperity in the reign of Sulaiman the Magnificent, (1529-66), also called the Qanuni (Law-giver) and the Sahib-i-Qiran (Lord of the Age). His empire extended from Budapest to Basra, from the Caspian to the Western Mediterranean, and embraced many countries in Europe, Asia and Africa. Marriot rightly observes, "It was no vain boast of the Ottoman Sultan [Sulaiman] that he was the master of many kingdoms, the ruler of three continents and the lord of the two seas." In his European campaigns Sulaiman advanced up to the walls of the Austrian capital, Vienna, which he could not conquer on account of the shortage of provisions in his camp.

The greatness of the Ottoman empire disappeared with the death of Sulaiman. A long series of weak sultans followed. "No one led an army to victory; and most of them devoted all the time they could spare from the neglect of their duties to the pleasure of the harem". The talented wazirs of the Kuprulu family maintained the integrity of the empire for a time in the face of the rising European powers. But it was beyond the power of the wazirs to check political evils and moral corruption that sapped the foundation of the empire. Speaking of the decadence of the Ottomans, Halide Edib observes that the sultans were harem brand, their favourite ladies sold important offices of the

empire and the civil service became completely corrupt. The army lost its discipline and morale. Favouritism played a great part in enlistment and promotion. "Rising became a habit with the army and, as the political moves of the palace and parties outside had to be carried out with the help of the military, the army became the sole arbiter in politics." In the days of Ottoman decline, the Christian kings and princes combined in a Holy League under Leopold, Emperor of Austria, for a crusade against the Turks, and defeated them at Mohaes in 1687, at Salan Kemen in 1691 and again in the naval battle of Zenta in 1697. By the treaty of Carlowitz the Sultan recognised the loss of Hungary and Transylvania to Austria and Ukraine and Podolia to Poland. Russia secured Azov. The deterioration of the Ottoman empire was accelerated by the system of capitulations. The capitulations, which were in the beginning mere treaties of commercial adjustment, took a different complexion when the Ottoman empire grew weak. After every defeat of the Ottomans, the victorious powers of Europe inserted new clauses in the capitulations in their own favour. Thus they acquired many special commercial and tariff rights as well as juridical and legal privileges in the Ottoman empire. As a result of this, the Sultan could not adopt any economic policy without the consent of the capitulary powers, no tariffs could be raised or abolished, if they objected. Then the Ottomans had to face the aggression of the rising power of Russia which looked upon Constantinople as Tsargrad and the Tsar as heir to the Byzantine emperors. She championed the cause of Slav nationals and regarded hereself as the protector of her co-religionists of the Greek Church in the Ottoman empire. Russia followed a policy of annexing Ottoman territories and having an outlet into the Mediterranean; Austria, France and England also had their ambitions against and interests in the disintegrating Ottoman empire. Each power aimed at snatching the best slice for iteslf. They incited the religious feelings of the Christian subjects of the empire to accelerate its dismemberment. The Russian ambitions, the designs of the Western powers, their special privileges, economic, political and military, added to the confusion and deterioration of the Ottoman empire in the eighteenth century. In consequence, Turkey became the "sick man of Europe".

The Muslims began their rule in the territories of Pakistan from the early years of the eighth century. The close of the twelfth century witnessed an unusual expansion of their dominion in this subcontinent. The Muslim rule lasted for several centuries and the Mughul empire represented the high watermark of Muslim glory and greatness. It was the foremost Muslim power of the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Babur laid the foundation of the Mughul rule, his grandson Akbar extended the empire and Jahangir and Shah Jahan added to its splendour. In the reign of 'Alamgir I, it reached the zenith of its prosperity as well as the meridian of its greatness. The empire extended from Kabul to Assam and Chittagong and from the Kashmir valley to the farthest limit of the South. Such a mighty empire had never been established in this subcontinent in the pre-Muslim period. It is noteworthy that the Muslims were the first to give political unity to this subcontinent. They created uniform administrative, revenue and legal systems. There was one empire, one government, one law, one currency, one paramount culture and one official language and one medium of instruction throughout the subcontinent. This uniformity in a vast region of many diversities was itself a great achievement. They also achieved remarkable progress in art, architecture, music, learning and literature. The social life of the time was characterized by a high degree of education, culture and refinement. In agriculture, industry and commerce, the Mughul empire was fabulously rich. Its prosperity attracted a stream of visitors from across the seas who were dazzled by the grandeur of the Mughul court. Sebastian Manrique and Mandelslo speak eloquently of the culture and polished manners of the people of the Mughul times. Hawkins, Bernier and others refer to the wealth of the Mughul empire and observe that a large portion of the world's gold and silver had been accumulated in the subcontinent.

The empire of the Muslims began to decline rapidly after the death of the great Emperor 'Alamgir I in 1707. The causes of the decline and disintegration of the empire have been discussed in a previous chapter. An observation may, however, be made here. The weakness of the successors of 'Alamgir I is generally regarded as a cause of this decline, but really the loss of a feeling of solidarity among the Muslims was one of the principal causes

of Mughul decadence. The unity of faith gave a unity of feeling to the Muslims. It was this sense of belonging to the same faith that enabled this numerically small minority to rule the teeming millions of the non-Muslim population. The influx of heterodox ideas and consequent laxity in religious beliefs shattered Muslim solidarity. Akbar raised the Hindus to positions of influence at the court. Dr. I. H. Qureshi rightly points out that this policy changed the nature of the Muslim empire. "This made the orthodox Muslims ineffective in protecting the interest of the empire. It was futile to hope that the Hindus would continue to support a Muslim empire ...The Muslims were still the dominant group in the state; but it had ceased to be a Muslim empire... Akbar gave away so much, yet he was not able to reconcile the Hindu sentiment completely. Maharana Prataps were more representative of Hindu sentiment than Man Singhs". It is a fact of history that in spite of all concessions and privileges, the Hindus remained at bottom hostile to the Muslims. The Muslim empire depended on the strength of the Muslims and their solidarity was their strength. Since the disappearance of this solidarity made the Muslim empire dependent upon Hindu support, its foundation was undermined. Emperor 'Alamgir sought and struggled to recreate this Islamic feeling and succeeded in a large measure. If his successor were a man of his ideals and determination, the task of reviving Muslim solidarity would have made substantial progress.

"The foremost cause of the loss of political power was a crisis in the Muslim character itself". Incompetence, short-sighted selfishness, corruption and other corroding evils had entered the soul of the Muslim. 'Alamgir I is found to complain repeatedly that men of honesty and sincerity had become rare in his time and that competent men were not available for responsible offices in the government. Commanders and ministers sacrificed the larger interest of the Muslim empire and were dictated by the "basest motives of selfishness and treachery". "Three men, Zulfiqar Khan and the two Saiyid Brothers of Barahah, share among themselves the prime responsibility for demolishing the edifice of the political power of the Muslims in the subcontinent". Zulfiqar Khan accepted bribes from the Marathas and protracted the siege of Jinji for about a year. Saiyid Hussain 'Ali made large

concessions to the Marathas to promote his own interests and those of his brother, Saiyid 'Abdullah Khan. The Muslims were degenerated and the society was producing parasites, who were notorious for incompetence and love of comfort. So the painstaking old emperor 'Alamgir once sadly observed, "Owing to my marching through wilderness and forests, my officers who love repose long for the termination of my life". "The selfishness of the nobles and officers, their love of ease and comfort cost the Muslims their empire. Seldom has a people been betrayed so completely by its political leaders."

One great cause of the decline and fall of the Muslim empire was that the Muslims had lost their dynamic character and they had reached a dead end. There was no creative activity in the field of science or in the realm of thought and ideas. The Muslims could not see the dynamic force of the new knowledge in Europe. "The world in which the Muslims had built an empire and sustained it had changed. The English and other European nations were making gigantic strides in the knowledge of science and techniques of organization. They had developed a strength that defied resistance. Dr. I. H. Qureshi, pointing to this fact, correctly observes, "They [the Europeans] had developed techniques of efficient government and effective warfare, to which the East possessed no answer. The supremacy of the Mulsims, like the ebbing tide, was being pushed back; even nations that were predominantly Muslim were beleaguered in their own homelands."

It was a suicidal blunder that the Muslim rulers neglected to build a naval force. They remained indifferent to the potentialities of sea-power. They gave their attention to the defence of the passes of the north-west, as these were the historic routes followed by every invader and even by themselves into this subcontinent. The Muslim rulers could not think that their empire would succumb to the naval strength of the European merchant communities. The activities of the Portuguese in the latter part of the sixteenth century failed to act as an eye-opener for the Muslim rulers. Even in the time of a powerful emperor like Akbar, the Portuguese plundered Muslim merchants and even the pilgrim ships. They raided coastal territories and riverine Bengal in the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. In the reign of 'Alamgir I, again, the English traders in Bengal and Surat were bold enough

to defy Mughul authority. These incidents clearly showed the approaching danger. Even then, the Muslim rulers took no lesson and ignored the importance of the navy. Nawab 'Ali Vardi Khan realized the gravity of the problem but it was too late to mend matters. And the old Nawab was himself so busy with the constant incursions of the Marathas and the rebellions of his Afghan generals that he could not think of building a naval force. Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah failed to expel the English from his dominions for want of a navy. The Muslim rulers were destined to receive the rudest shock of their history from a trading company backed by the naval might of the country of its origin.

A SHORT READING LIST

1. *Cambridge History af India,* Cambridge, 1929, Vol. V, Chapters I-II.
2. P. E. Roberts, *History of British India,* London, 1958; Part I, Chapters III-VI, X-XII.

CHAPTER III

The Fall of Bengal and the Establishment of British Rule

Wide concessions to the English

The liberal policies followed by the Mughul Emperors as well as the subahdars and nawabs created in Bengal two forces, the English and the Hindus, whose alliance aided by the division and demoralization of the Muslims, resulted in the collapse of the Muslim rule and the establishment of British authority in the province. It has been stated in an earlier chapter that Jahangir granted to the English merchants of the East India Company the right to build a factory at Surat and to establish commercial centres in other parts of the Mughul empire. Shah Jahan allowed them to start a trading settlement at the port of Hugli. Prince Shuja', then subahdar of Bengal, generously granted wide trade concessions to the English merchants. He opened to them the trade of the whole province on the nominal payment of Rs. 3,000 a year. This great concession enabled them to build factories in all the ports, towns and marts of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and to develop into a wealthy commercial community in the province. Their prosperity and strength encouraged them to defy Mughul

authority even in the days of a powerful emperor like 'Alamgir I. 'Alamgir saw that the wide trade concessions enjoyed by the English were unfair and harmful to other European traders as well as the Muslim merchants. Moreover, the English merchants abused this privilege freely. So the emperor withdrew the special concession by imposing on them a $3\frac{1}{2}$% *ad valorem* duty paid by other European and Muslim merchants. The English merchants resented the cancellation of the special trade privilege. This resentment found expression in a case in which the local traders lodged a claim against the English merchants of Qasimbazar. They disobeyed the qazi's decree which called upon them to pay Rs. 43,000 to the local merchants. They even came into an armed conflict with the local authorities. This involved them in trouble. But in the end they submitted and apologized for their misconduct. 'Alamgir I pardoned them and allowed them to resume their trade. Even after this refractory behaviour of the English merchants, the Mughul rulers learnt no lesson. On the other hand, Farrukh-siyar, being pleased with the skill of an English surgeon, Hamilton, again gave to the East India Company the unrestricted trading facilities in the province for an annual payment of Rs. 3,000 only. This made for an enormous expansion of the English trade, which in turn contributed to the great prosperity and strength of the English in Bengal. Prosperity begot political ambitions. Thus the generous policy of the Muslim rulers turned the East India Company into a political force in Bengal.

Even in the reign of Nawab 'Ali Vardi Khan the European companies had ambitious plans of their own. In 1751, Dupleix, the French governor-general of Pondicherry, made the following reference to the Nawab in a letter that he wrote to Bussy; "Nothing can be easier than to humble the pride of that man whose troops are as worthless as those you already know. By sending to Bengal, Balasore and Masulipatam four to five hundred men ... some light artillery ... that is all you would need in Bengal, where there is not a single fort and the whole country lies open to the first glance ... You [French] alone are strong enough to become the master of that country which is ripe for invasion". About this time in a letter to the German emperor, Colonel Mill, an English soldier of fortune, wrote, "The policy of the Mughuls is bad; their army is worse;

they are without a navy ... the country might be conquered and laid under contribution as easily as the Shanidards overwhelmed the naked Indians of America ... A rebel subject named 'Ali Vardi Khan, has torn away the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the Mughul empire. He has a treasure to the value of thirty million sterling. His yearly revenue must be two million sterling. Three ships with fifteen hundred or two thousand regulars would suffice for the undertaking." The reports of the English agents towards the close of the reign of Nawab 'Ali Vardi encouraged the ambitions of the East India Company. These revealed the secret hatred of the Hindus towards Muslim rule and held before the English the prospect of an English-Hindu alliance. Colonel Scott, the Company's military engineer, reported, "If a European force began successfully ... they [Hindus] would be inclined to join them if properly applied and encouraged." He also observes that Omichand as well as Nimu Gosain, who has a great influence among the Hindu rajas and with the Hindu soldiers, would be of much service to the English in this work.

Convinced of the superiority of their arms and expecting Hindu co-operation in the promotion of their political interests, the English adopted an attitude of defiance to Nawab 'Ali Vardi in his last days, particularly when he had an attack of dropsy that was to prove fatal. On the strength of their zamindari in Calcutta, the English asserted their sovereign power over all inhabitants of the area. They rudely turned out the Nawab's messenger who had been sent to serve his *parwanah* on the Company and explained their stand to the Nawab in an insolent letter. The English were also secretly in league with Rajballabh, the deputy-governor and diwan of Jahangirnagar, and Ghasiti Begam, eldest daughter of Nawab 'Ali Vardi to oust Siraj-ud-daulah and place Shaukat Jang, her second sister's son and deputy governor of Purnea, on the *masnad* of Bengal.

Rise of Hindu Influence

The Muslim rulers, particularly the Nawabs of Murshidabad, added to the political strength of the Hindus by following a generous policy towards this community. The Nawabs, who became practically independent in the province patronized local

talent and offered high administrative positions to the sons of the soil. It is significant that this policy proved most beneficial to the Hindus. The founder of the independent *nizamat* of Bengal, Murshid Quli Khan, especially favoured the Hindus. His policy was continued by his successors, Shuja'-ud-din, Sarfaraz Khan, 'Ali Vardi Khan, Siraj-ud-daulah, and even the puppet nawab, Mir Ja'far and Mir Qasim. As a result, the Hindus flourished and left the Muslims behind in economic and political influence.

From the time of Murshid Quli Khan, the Hindus were advanced to every office of trust and responsibility and they came to occupy key positions in the government of Bengal. They held the most important office of *diwan,* or finance and chief minister of the province. The revenue department was practically monopolized by them. Referring to the preference of Murshid Quli Khan for Hindus in the revenue administration, the contemporary historian, Salimullah, observes, "He appointed none but the Bengali Hindus in the collection of revenue, because they were the most easily compelled, by threats or punishment, to disclose their own malpractices and those of their associates; and their pusillanimity secured him from any insurrection or combination against the state." The Hindus were also appointed deputy governors, bakhshis (or ministers in charge of the military establishment) army commanders, chiefs of intelligence service and other offices of great confidence. They were also in the inner councils of the Nawab. In the time of Murshid Quli Khan, Bhupat Ray, Deep Narain and Raghunandan successively occupied the office of the diwan and Kishen Ray and Jaswant Ray were his private and confidential secretaries. Alam Chand held the office of diwan of Orissa and Lahori Mal, Dilpat Singh Hazari and others were entrusted with important army commands. The Hindus made further gains in official hierarchy in the time of Nawab Shuja'-ud-din (1727-1737). Alam Chand was elevated to the office of the diwan of Bengal and he and Jagat Seth, the great banker, became the confidential counsellors of Shuja'-ud-din. Jaswant Ray was the diwan of the province of Jahangirnagar (Dacca) and Chintamandas that of the province of 'Azimabad (Patna). Many other Hindus enjoyed offices of trust and responsibility in the government of Shuja'-ud-din.

The Hindu official aristocracy rose to the height of its power and influence in the reign of Nawab 'Ali Vardi Khan. Its influence pervaded all the departments of the state, civil, military and revenue. Chin Ray, Beru Dutt, Kirat Chand and Umid Ray successively held the office of diwan of Bengal. Raja Janakiram and Ramnarain were appointed to the office of diwan and deputy governor of 'Azimabad in succession. Raja Janakiram's son, Durlabh Ram, was promoted to the post of deputy-governor of Orissa and then to the office of diwan-i-tan and also that of bakhshi as an act of favouritism. Rajaballabh, a petty officer in the revenue service, was raised to the office of superintendent of the fleet and then of the diwan as well as deputy governor of Jahangirnagar. Sham Sundar was bakhshi of the artillery. Ramram Singh held the post of chief of the intelligence service. Jagat Seth continued to enjoy great confidence of Nawab 'Ali Vardi. Many other Hindus prospered in the civil, military and revenue administration of the Nawab. Noticing the great Hindu influence in the government, Colonel Orme remarks, "Nawab 'Ali Vardi preferred the services of the Hindus in every office and dignity of state, and seemed to regard the increase of their wealth as his own". He further observes, "The Rajas both of Bengal and Bihar sought the protection and exemptions for their fellow Gentoos (Hindus) and contributed not a little to increase their fortunes. Thus the Hindu connection became the most opulent influence in the government, of which it pervaded every department with such efficiency that nothing of moment could move without their participation and knowledge".

Orme says that Nawab 'Ali Vardi recommended his policy of preferring the Hindus over Muslims to Siraj-ud-daulah and instructed his wife, Sharaf-un-nisa, to see that this policy was followed. Hill states that Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah continued his predecessor's policy of placing Hindus in high positions. He retained the services of all the Hindu officers of his grandfather's time in high civil, military, revenue and intelligence services. He appointed Mohanlal, a Kashmiri Hindu, to the office of prime minister. Janaki Ray, an uncle of Mohanlal, was promoted to the post of the diwan. Raja Durlabh Ram, Ramnarain, Rajballabh and others continued to hold responsible posts in civil and military administration. Siraj-ud-daulah appointed Manik Chand and Nand

Kumar to the army command and the faujdari of Calcutta and Hugli, respectively.

The Nawabs of Bengal created a new landed aristocracy of the Hindus in Bengal. Many Hindu zamindars rose to power as a result of the revenue re-organization of Murshid Quli Khan, who specially preferred to employ the Hindus in the collection of revenue, as 'they could be easily compelled to make payments'. The well-known Hindu zamindari of Natore had its origin in the time of Murshid Quli Khan. Raghunandan, a trusted qanungo of Murshid Quli Khan, acquired estates in the name of his brother Ramjivan. When the Devinagar zamindari of Rajshahi was terminated, it was given to Ramjivan, who also received slices of the zamindari of Bhusna after the fall of Sitaram. Murshid Quli Khan put an end to several other zamindars and granted their estates to Ramjivan as well. Thus was founded the Natore estate, the premier zamindari of the eighteenth century Bengal. The Dighapatia zamindari of Rajshahi district also originated at this time. Its founder, Dayaram Rai, formed the nucleus of the zamindari with a portion of Bhusna which he had received from Murshid Quli Khan. The revenue policy of Murshid Quli Khan led to the foundation of the zamindaris of Momenshahi (Mymensingh) and Muktagacha. Srikrishna Havaldar, the founder of the Momenshahi zamindari, and Srikrishna Acharya, founder of the Muktagacha estate, were both originally qanungo and chowdhury, respectively, under Murshid Quli Khan, who favoured them with the revenue farming of a parganah each. By the time of 'Ali Vardi Khan their zamindaris acquired several other parganahs. The ancestors of Raja Ramanath, a zamindar of Dinajpur, also made additions to their estate in the time of Murshid Quli Khan.

The emergence of a wealthy business class of the Hindus is a noteworthy feature of the period of Bengal under the Nawabs. Formerly, the Hindus did not count for much in big business. The Nawabs encouraged them to carry on trade and granted them concessions. As a result, many Hindus flourished in trade. The Seths of Murshidabad and Omichand need special mention in this connection, because they played an important role in the politics of the mid-eighteenth century Bengal. The Seth family, which originally belonged to Nagor in Rajputana, began

banking business at Patna in the reign of Shah Jahan. Under the patronage of Murshid Quli Khan the Seths extended their business operations to Jahangirnagar and Murshidabad and accumlated wealth. Fathchand Seth received the monopoly of minting coins for the government and won the title of Jagat Seth from Muhammad Shah on the recommendation of Murshid Quli Khan. He was also made a government banker. Jagat Seth used to make a profit of forty lakhs of rupees a year by transacting government business alone. The Nawabs sent their tributes to the Emperor and the zamindars paid their revenues to the Nawab's treasury through his banking agency, and honoured the guarantees he offered on behalf of zamindars who could not pay their revenues in time. The European merchants took loans from him and he also assisted the Nawab in his financial difficulties.

Jagat Seth enjoyed a position of great honour and influence at the Murshidabad court, so much so that he always occupied a place in the inner councils of Shuja'-ud-din, Sarfaraz Khan, 'Ali Vardi Khan and Siraj-ud-daulah. In speaking of the position and influence of this family, Orme says, "There was a family of Gentoo merchants at Muxudabad (Murshidabad), whose head Juggutseat (Jagat Seth) had raised himself from no considerable origin to be the wealthiest banker in the empire, in most part of which he had agents supplied with money for remittances, from whom he constantly received of what was transacting in the governments in which they were settled: and in Bengal his influence was equal to that of any officer in the administration: for by answering to the treasury as security for most of the renters farming the lands of the province, the circulation of the wealth, which he commanded, rendered his assistance necessary in every emergency." In the time of Siraj-ud-daulah, Jagat Seth used his wealth and influence in overthrowing the Muslim rule.

Omichand, a Panjabi Sikh, who was also called Amir Chand, came to Bengal from Bihar with 'Ali Vardi Khan. He started business in Calcutta and Murshidabad and amassed a fortune under the Nawab's patronage. Like Jagat Seth, Omichand had considerable influence with the principal officers of the government of Bengal. The English Company used to employ his mediation with the Nawab in times of difficulty. His earnings amounted to four millions of rupees, a considerable amount at the time

Hindu animosity to Muslims

With all the advantages of office, wealth and influence the Hindus were hostile to Muslim rule. Hill writes, "Even the Europeans who lived in this country at that time perceived the undercurrent of Hindu animosity to the Muslim rulers". Colonel Scott wrote to a friend in 1754 three years before the Battle of Plassey, "Jentue (Hindu) Rajahs and Zamindars were much disaffected to the Moor (Muslim) government and secretly wished for a change and opportunity for throwing off their tyrannical yoke". Hill observes that the Hindus were seized with a desire to weaken the Muslim rule. The Hindu feeling of hatred towards the Muslims is also revealed in the writings of a contemporary Hindu poet, Ramanandadas, who says, "The country has become the property of the Mlechhas (derisive Hindu term for Muslims) and the goddess of fortune (Lakshmi) has been born as a slave girl in a low family. I shall forcibly snatch away the kingdom from these Mlechhas and give its sovereignty to the Brahman". A Hindu historian, K. K. Datt, pointedly refers to the anti-Muslim feeling of the Hindus which is also reflected in the writings of Bharatchandra, the court-poet of Maharaja Krishnachandra of Nadia. The Hindu officers, traders and zamindars kept their inner feeling concealed from the Nawabs who did not suspect the loyalty of their proteges. The merchants of the East India Company, who extensively employed the Hindus as their agents, often came into intimate contact with Hindu traders in business. The British fully understood the state of Hindu mind. The Hindus also realized that they would not succeed in overthrowing Muslim rule unless they had the alliance of some other power. The strength and resources of the prosperous English Company appeared to promise them the needed help. The fact of the growth of a silent understanding between the Hindus and the English finds expression in the accounts of English writers. Thus, Hill says that the partisans of the British were all Hindus. He writes, "The fact that commerce and manufacture were almost entirely in the hands of the Hindus naturally brought them into close connection with the European merchants, who had settled in the country for the purpose of trade, and so produced a kind of tacit alliance based mainly upon their material interests". He adds that since the European settlements were wealthy and well

fortified, the Hindus were certain of obtaining refuge there. He also observes that the Hindu aristocrats and zamindars, quite in keeping with the traditions of their history, joined the English in overthrowing the Nawab's and establishing British power in Bengal. K. K. Datt also agrees that the disaffected Hindu zamindars and notables formed the conspiracy of 1757 against Siraj-ud-daulah and extended their support to the English.

The political intrigues and selfishness of the Muslim generals and officers gave an opportunity to the English and the Hindus to organize the conspiracy against Muslim rule. It was a time of decline and degeneration for the Muslims. Within a few years of the death of 'Alamgir I the Mughul Empire had disintegrated into several provincial dynasties. From 1717 Murshid Quli Khan ruled Bengal in practical independence owning nominal allegiance to the emperor and remitting a fixed revenue of one crore and five lakhs of rupees annually to Delhi. Nawab Shuja'-ud-din's son, Sarfaraz Khan, was ousted from the *masnad* by 'Ali Vardi Khan, the deputy governor of 'Azimabad. Nawab 'Ali Vardi Khan's reign (1740-56) was much disturbed by the recurring raids of the Marathas, the disloyalty of his generals and the treacherous murder of his son-in-law, Zain-ud-din, father of Siraj-ud-daulah. After his death his grandson, Siraj-ud-daulah, a young man of 24, followed him on the *masnad* on 9 April 1756. From this time the young Nawab had to face the hostility of his aunt, Ghasiti Begam, the eldest daughter of 'Ali Vardi Khan, and Rajballabh, her agent and diwan in Jahangirnagar. Ghasiti Begam was an ambitious woman who intended to place Shaukat Jang, a son of her second sister and deputy governor of Purnea, on the *masnad* of Murshidabad in order to be able to establish her hold upon the government. Rajballabh, who had misappropriated a huge sum out of the revenue of Jahangirnagar and avoided submission of accounts to the Nawab, worked for the promotion of Ghasiti Begam's designs. This situation was complicated by the ambitions of Mir Ja'far, the bakhshi of the Nawab. Mir Ja'far maintained secret correspondence with Shaukat Jang and incited him to contest the *masnad* with Siraj-ud-daulah. He thought that the enthronement of Shaukat Jang, an incompetent and weak young man, would give him supreme control over the affairs of the province.

English defiance of the Nawab

The English Company saw in the difficulties of Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah an opportunity for advancing its own political interests. The conduct of its officers towards the young Nawab was marked by defiance and hostility. Cooke writes, "It is usual according to an old Eastern custom, on being appointed Prince ... of the country to be visited by different foreign nations and proper presents madeto him. This in the first place we ne glected in doing". Cooke says that this made Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah suspicious about the intentions of the English. Secondly, the English constructed additional fortifications in Calcutta, mounted guns on Fort William and dug a large ditch, ostensibly as a defensive measure against the French, without the permission of the Nawab. Thirdly, they abused the privilege of the *dastaks* and caused great loss to the Nawab's revenues. The President of the Calcutta Council was empowered to issue to the English traders permits called *dastaks* which exempted the goods of their holders from the payment of duties on the rivers and at ferries. The Company abused this privilege and issued *dastaks* to traders other than the English. Fourthly, the Company gave shelter to such subjects and officers of the Nawab as were accused of offences of misappropriation and treachery. Rajballabh, diwan of Jahangir-nagar, amassed a large fortune by misappropriating the Nawab's revenues. He avoided submitting accounts and, fearing an audit and consequent punishment, he sent his son, Krishnadas, with his family and wealth amounting to five crores and thirty lakhs of rupees to Calcutta. The English gave protection to Krishnadas knowing fully well that he was a culprit. Siraj-ud-daulah sent several letters forbidding the Company from issuing illegal *dastaks*. He demanded that the English traders living in his territory should behave as subjects. He questioned their right to build fortifications in his territory without his permission and demanded that the newly built fortification in Calcutta should be demolished. The Nawab also called upon the Company to surrender Krishnadas and asked them not to extend protection to any of his subjects who was liable to render an account. Drake, the Company's governor in Calcutta, evaded these demands and dismissed the Nawab's envoys rudely.

Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah made a determined effort to suppress

internal troubles at the beginning of his reign. His aunt, Ghasit Begam, was using her wealth through Mir Ja'far and others in promoting the cause of his rival, Shaukat Jang. Her Motijhil palace became the centre of sedition against the Nawab. Siraj-ud-daulah tried to stop her activities by persuading her to come and live with him. She refused the offer. The Nawab, however, succeeded in removing Ghasiti Begam quietly to his own palace. Next he resolved to suppress his rival Shaukat Jang, who was still not reconciled to his authority. Accordingly, he advanced towards Purnea and reached as far as Rajmahal. It was here that he received the news of the treatment that Drake had meted out to his envoys, Narain Singh and Khwajah Wajid. He felt offended at the conduct of the Company's governor. He thought that the isolence of the English traders had reached the limit and that it could no longer be excused or ignored. Siraj-ud-daulah abandoned the Purnea campaign and returned to Murshidabad with a view to dealing first with the English Company, which posed the greater danger to his authority.

Nawab's action

The Nawab acted with resolution and promptness. On 4 June 1756 he seized the English factory at Qasimbazar. On the following day he marched towards Calcutta where Drake had continued to maintain a defiant attitude towards the Nawab. This is clear from the accounts given by the English writers themselves. The Nawab reached Calcutta on 16 June, and laid siege to the fort. After a little resistance, Drake and the commandant lost heart and left the fort taking refuge in the ships along with the more prominent English residents of Calcutta. On 20 June, Fort William surrendered to Siraj-ud-daulah. Cooke informs that after capitulation 'no further violence was used'. But some Europeans, 'having made themselves too free with liquor became riotous' and abusive. Thereupon the English captives, who numbered about 39, according to Drake, were confined in a room 18 ft. long and 14 ft. and 10 inches wide. There were wounded soldiers among the prisoners. Of these about 16 died during the night. Holwell magnified this small incident out of all proportion by stating that 146 captives were confined in the room, so that all except 23 died of suffocation. He called it the Black-Hole tragedy.

to inflame the English against the Nawab's government. J. H. Little has called this "a gigantic hoax".

The Nawab appointed Manikchand as commandant of Calcutta and left for Murshidabad. He had still to deal with Shaukat Jang, who was being secretly incited to rebellion by Jagat Seth, Mir Ja'far and others. Before their plan could mature, Siraj-ud-daulah promptly marched towards Purnea and defeated and killed Shaukat Jang in a battle at Manihari on 10 October 1756. Thus within a few months after his accession to the *masnad*, Siraj-ud-daulah had removed two dangerous enemies, Ghasiti Begam and Shaukat Jang from the scene. He had also dealt a severe blow to the power of the English Company. After this it appeared that the English traders would submit to the Nawab in their own interest.

Hindu help to the English

But the English chiefs, who were well aware of the internal situation, sought to utilise the disaffection of the Hindus and intrigues of the Nawab's officers to their own advantage. After the fall of Calcutta, Drake and others who had taken refuge in Fulta, embarked upon a series of intrigues with the chiefs and officers whom they knew to be hostile to Siraj-ud-daulah. They won Omichand, Manikchand, Jagat Seth and several other leading persons over to their side. To lull the suspicions of the Nawab, the English traders continued to make piteous appeals to him for the restoration of their trade privileges in Calcutta. The Hindu officers, traders and zamindars helped the English in their distress even against the Nawab's desire. Hill says that Manikchand, commandant of Calcutta, connived at the English taking shelter in Fulta. Raja Nabakishen, a zamindar of the locality, persuaded his relatives in Fulta to help the English with shelter and food. The tenants of Manikchand provided subsistence to these refugees. Omichand also gave food to some of these English in Fulta. Omichand, Manikchand, Rai Durlabh, Jagat Seth and others persuaded the Nawab to show forbearance to the Company, so that the unsuspecting Nawab agreed to the restoration of its trading facilities.

The Madras council of the English Company received the news of the capture of Calcutta (by the Nawab) at a time when the

English had obtained a decisive advantage over the French and established their political influence in the Carnatic. Robert Clive had won reputation as an intrepid soldier and organizer of victory. About this time the English at Madras had well-equipped army and navy ready for a campaign against the French in the South. With these advantages, they decided upon sending a military expedition to recover Calcutta. This expeditionary force under Clive and Admiral Watson set sail on 16 October, and reached Bengal on 14 December. They made their way to Fulta without any opposition from Manikchand, the Nawab's commandant at Calcutta. Clive immediately entered into correspondence with Manikchand. He wrote, "Upon my arrival in these parts from Madras I was informed that you have shown a great friendship and regard for the English Company, for which I write to return thanks. I doubt not but as you have hitherto professed a desire to serve the Company, you will at this time, when their affairs most require it, retain the same disposition in their favour". Manikchand wrote in reply "I sincerely rejoice to hear of your safe arrival in these parts . . . Radha Krishna Mullick . . . whom I have sent to you will impart you some more particulars which I recommend to your attentive consideration". This shows that, although Manikchand was entrusted by Siraj-ud-daulah with a position of great trust and responsibility, he was, in fact, in league with the English, the enemies of the Nawab, and was out to promote their interests. Confident of the support of such Hindu officers and chiefs as Manikchand, Clive and Watson boldly adopted a warlike attitude and demanded not only the restoration of the ancient 'rights and immunities' of the Company but also the payment of 'a reasonable compensation for the losses and injuries they had suffered'. This letter, written on the Christmas Day, 1756, was sent to Manikchand to be forwarded to the Nawab. Hoping that their plan would go well, Clive and Watson did not wait for a reply. They advanced upon Calcutta immediately and took possession of the city on 2 January 1757. Commandant Manikchand had a large force to oppose the English. He could have obtained additional help from the faujdar of Hugli. But he had planned for a British victory. He simply made a show of opposing the English and then fled to Murshidabad. Thus the treachery of Manikchand enabled the English to

strengthen themselves against the Nawab. The fruits of the Nawab's earlier victory over the English were lost. From a hopeless position with no foothold on the soil, the English emerged all-powerful after the recovery of Calcutta. On 9 January they fell upon Hugli, plundered the city and destroyed many magnificent buildings, although a Hindu faujdar was there with a large force.

Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah's object was to exact good behaviour from the English Company, not to oust it from his dominion and he desired a peaceful settlement with the English traders. But their rebellious attitude obliged him to advance against them. On 19 January he reached Hugli and the English fell back on Calcutta. On 3 February he entered the suburbs of Calcutta. The Nawab did not mean war. The English chief kept up the appearance of negotiations through their emissaries. While these were going on, Clive and Watson planned a surprise attack on the Nawab's camp. Accordingly, on the night of 5 February they proceeded to attack the Nawab's camp with about two thousand troops, infantry, artillery and cavalry. But the guides lost their way in the fog, and, instead of reaching the Nawab's headquarters, the English troops found themselves facing his cavalry. The attack caused confusion in the camp as the soldiers were sleeping in the winter night. Nevertheless, the English failed to derive any advantage from this attack. In the skirmish 97 of their soldiers were killed and 137 wounded, and they lost 2 guns. When the fog cleared, Manikchand was sent in pursuit of the enemy. But the English re-entered the fort before his arrival. The night attack, according to Colonel Orme, was a great failure for which his own soldiers made abusive comments on Clive's conduct. Even after these provocations the Nawab concluded the Treaty of Alinagar with the English on 9 February 1957. The trading privileges of the English were restored and they were allowed to fortify Calcutta. It appears strange that the Nawab, who had a force sufficient to capture Calcutta, concluded peace with the English almost on their terms and thus lost the opportunity of curbing their growing power. The reason is obvious: the capture of Calcutta, the devastation of Hugli and the night attack by the English filled Siraj-ud-daulah with apprehensions about the loyalty of his officers who had all along supported

the demands of the English. He doubted his ability to capture Calcutta with the help of traitors. The threat of Ahmad Shah Abdali's advance towards Bihar was another reason. In the face of that danger he wanted to be safe from all entanglements on the home front. However, Siraj-ud-daulah showed a lack of decision and energy from this time onwards. A resolute action would have unnerved the disloyal generals because they were yet unorganised. A prompt attack on Calcutta would have again driven the English from the fort to the water.

In the eyes of the Company chiefs, who could clearly see the prospects of their own success in the disloyalty of the Nawab's officers and the friendliness of the Hindu aristocrats to the English, the treaty was merely a truce. The Seven Years' War (1756-63) had just broken out in Europe, and England and France were again fighting on opposite sides. The English at Calcutta desired to conquer the French possession of Chandarnagar and sought the Nawab's consent to their plans through the influence of Omichand and Watts, their representative at Qasimbazar. The Nawab would not allow one section of his subjects to molest another. He forbade them from indulging in hostilities on his territory. He also issued to Nandkumar, the faujdar of Hugli, an order directing him to assist the French with all his force, in case the English should attack Chandarnagar, or if the French should attack the English, to assist them in the same manner, that there may be no quarrels or disputes in this country. But being assured of the friendship of the Hindu commanders of the locality, the English paid no heed to the Nawab's orders. Robert Clive advanced towards Chandarnagar and the French factory surrendered to him on 23 March. Nandkumar, the faujdar of Hugli, who was posted in the vicinity of Chandarnagar at the head of a fighting force could have easily prevented the English conquest of the French settlement, but he deserted his post as soon as the English arrived on the scene. Scrafton writes that the English bribed Nandkumar through Omichand with a sum of £1,500. Nandkumar accepted the amount even though his annual salary was over £30,000. He also disclosed the military secrets of the Nawab to the English. The other Hindu commanders, Rai Durlabh and Manikchand, who could have opposed the English remained indifferent. Watts obtained

secret information about the military strength of the Nawab by bribing Ramram Singh, the head of the intelligence service. Nandkumar justified his inaction by writing to the Nawab: "As the French were unable to resist the English, he had, therefore, ordered his troops to Hugli, lest his victorious colours should be involved in their disgrace". Thus the disloyalty of the Hindu generals and officers proved to be the decisive factor in favour of the English.

The Nawab offered shelter to the French fugitives including M. Law at his court, and refused to drive them away even when the English offered military help against the invasion of Bengal by Ahmad Shah Abdali. The fear of Abdali's invasion was, indeed, a source of constant anxiety to the Nawab. In February 1757, Abadali had sacked Delhi, Agra and Mathura. Although he had retired from Delhi in April, the danger was still there. The best troops of the Nawab were deployed under Raja Ramnarain, deputy governor of 'Azimabad, on the Bihar frontier to meet the possible invasion of the Afghan general and the Nawab was left with troops under unreliable commanders. The English chiefs took advantage of the embarrassments of the Nawab and urged upon him to expel the French from his court. The Nawab dismissed Law and his men and sent them to Patna in an attempt to please the English. The English were still not satisfied. They demanded that the French refugees should have been handed over to them. The Nawab was incensed, but the threat of Abdali's invasion and the unreliability of his generals led him to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards the English.

English-Hindu Conspiracy

After the fall of Chandarnagar and the expulsion of the French from Bengal, the English got rid of their powerful European rivals in the province. Fully conscious of their own strength, convinced of the disloyalty of the Hindu officers, traders and zamindars towards the Nawab and of the strength of their alliance with the Hindu leaders, the English chiefs set about organizing a powerful opposition to the Nawab. The Calcutta Council finally adopted a resolution on 23 April 1757 to overthrow Siraj-ud-daulah. The Hindu chiefs and generals readily joined the conspiracy. Watts, the English representative in Murshidabad, was entrusted

with the task of working out the details of the alliance. The English chose Omichand as their agent. Hill says, "Omichand proposed to the Seths that the British would assist them in overthrowing Siraj-ud-daulah and placing Yar Lutf Khan on the throne. The Seths agreed on Siraj-ud-daulah's removal without hesitation, but did not definitely approve the proposal regarding the Nawab's successor. Their consent was transmitted to Watts on 26 April 1757". Manikchand, Nandkumar, Rai Durlabh, Rajballabh and some zamindars had already thrown in their lot with the English.

Mir Ja'far, the bakshi of the Nawab, was notorious for his unreliability and greed since the days of 'Ali Vardi Khan. He had even fallen into disgrace for his disloyalty, but was reinstated, as he was related to the Nawab. He saw in the conspiracy a chance to realise his ambition for the *masnad*. He was easily induced to join and was supported by the Seths in his candidature to the throne of Bengal. Yar Lutf Khan and Khadim Husain Khan, two other military officers came over to the side of the conspirators in the hope of receiving a big rise in their ranks.

The principal conspirators, including Maharaja Krishna Chandra of Nadia, met in the house of Jagat Seth. Mir Ja'far was also present. Watts was carried there in a covered *palki*. It was decided in the meeting to overthrow Siraj-ud-daulah and place Mir Ja'far on the throne. The English promised all help in the undertaking. Accordingly, the Company's agents drafted and signed the terms on 19 May and sent the document to Mir Ja'far for his signature. Mir Ja'far signed the treaty on 4 June. He was to grant several concessions to the English traders, to bear the cost of the English troops for their help in seizing the *masnad* and pay about two crores of rupees as compensation to the English traders of Calcutta. Omichand was promised two million rupees from the Nawab's treasury. To deceive him, Clive prepared two copies of the document. The first and the genuine one, signed by the leaders of the conspiracy, made no mention of Omichand's share in the transaction which was provided for in the second; but all signatures on this latter document were forged by Clive. Rai Durlabh Ram was also promised a share in the loot.

The French had given the Nawab a friendly warning of what

was coming. According to Hill, Law had approached the Seths to exert their influence on the Nawab against the English aggression in Chandarnagar and learnt from some of their incautious expressions that they were planning to set up another Nawab. Law confided this to Siraj-ud-daulah, but the Nawab could not believe this. Siraj-ud-daulah realized the gravity of the situation much later when he came to know of the secret treaty. But he failed to act with decision and vigour. He dismissed Mir Ja'far from the office of bakshi and appointed 'Abdul Hadi Khan in his place. 'Abdul Hadi Khan and Mir Madan advised the Nawab to destroy the traitor (i.e. Mir Ja'far) before dealing with the English. But treacherous advisors like Jagat Seth pointed to the advisability of conciliating Mir Ja'far and other generals to add to his strength against the English. The Nawab accepted their advice, went to Mir Ja'far in person, and made a pathetic appeal for help in the name of 'Ali Vardi Khan. Mir Ja'far and his associate, Khadim Hussain Khan, gave him the most solemn assurance with the Quran in their hands to fight against the English. Upon this they were restored to their former offices. The Nawab did not pay heed to the counsel of his loyal general Mir Madan, who warned him that a mortal enemy like Mir Ja'far would desert him in the very field of battle and that the best way of putting the English to flight was to crush the internal enemy. Indeed, if the Nawab had promptly arrested Mir Ja'far and his fellow conspirators, this would have frightened the coalition and driven Clive and his small contingent back to Calcutta. But the unsuspecting young Nawab was misled by his treacherous counsellors and solemn oaths of Mir Ja'far.

Battle of Plassey

After the conclusion of the secret treaty, Clive moved with his troops towards Murshidabad. He encountered no opposition at Hugli and Katwa, commandants of these garrisons proving traitors to the Nawab. The Nawab advanced with a force of about fifty thousand soldiers and encamped in the field of Plassey on 22 June 1757. Clive reached there the same night and took up position in a mango grove. The battle began in the morning of 23 June. Mir Ja'far, Khadim Hussain, Rai Durlabh and other perfidious generals with their troops stood as spectators at a

distance of one and two *kos* respectively, while a small force under loyal Mohanlal, Mir Madan and a French commander Finfray forced the English to retreat and take shelter behind the mango grove. With Mir Ja'far fighting on the Nawab side, the English would have been immediately routed. Even then Mohanlal, Mir Madan and Finfray advanced to drive the English away from their sheltered position. The death of Mir Madan by a stray shot unnerved the Nawab and he sent for Mir Ja'far. Mir Ja'far proposed to stop fighting and assured the Nawab that he would fight with full force from the morning of the following day. The Nawab accepted his fraudulent advice to recall Mohanlal and other generals who had placed Clive's troops in a precarious position and would have succeeded in beating back the English if they had continued the fight. Mohanlal was using his cannon with effect and his infantry was advantageously firing on the enemy's ranks when he received the Nawab's order to retreat. He was not inclined to obey. The Nawab consulted Mir Ja'far again who repeated his advice, coldly adding that this was the best that could be done. The Nawab submitted to Mir Ja'far's wishes and sent repeated orders to Mohanlal, who at last carried them out.

The sight of Mohanlal's retreat discouraged his soldiers. The followers of the conspirators began to flee from the field of battle. Their example was followed by others. There was utter confusion and the defeat turned into a route. The English now came out of hiding and began to advance. Ghulam Hussain says, "In a little while the camp became totally empty Siraj-ud-daulah was amazed at the desertion of his troops and, fearing not only the English in his front but chiefly the domestic enemies behind, he lost all firmness of mind". He left the field and arrived at Murshidabad the next morning. The treachery of Mir Ja'far gave the English an easy victory in the Battle of Plassey.

The Nawab made an effort to collect his forces, but the soldiers, who had fled from Plassey in confusion, were now scattered. Mir Ja'far and his allies were advancing towards Murshidabad. Expecting no help in fighting the enemy, the Nawab fled with his wife, Lutf-un-Nisa Begam, and daughter towards Rajmahal in the hope of joining his deputy governor, Ramnarain, and the army in 'Azimabad. On the way, Siraj-ud-daulah was

captured by Mir Qasim, son-in-law of Mir Ja'far, and was brought back to Murshidabad. Muhammadi Beg, who had been brought up in the family of Siraj-ud-daulah's father Zain-ud-din, murdered the Nawab at the behest of Mir Ja'far's son Miran. Mir Ja'far was crowned as the Nawab of Bengal by Clive on 29 June. He made huge cash payments to Clive and other English chiefs in addition to the zamindari of the Twenty-four Parganas and a large sum of money to the Company.

As the result of the Battle of Plassey, the independence of Bengal and Bihar came to an end. Mir Ja'far who was raised to the *masnad* ruled as a puppet prince. The real power was exercised by the English who obtained special trading privileges from the time of his installation. This enhanced the prestige, strength and resources of the English Company which now emerged as a political and military power in the land. Bengal's resources helped the Company in establishing its influence in the Carnatic and also in laying the foundations of British dominion in this subcontinent.

Causes of the Nawab's defeat

The immediate cause of Siraj-ud-daulah's defeat and the fall of independent Bengal was Mir Ja'far's treachery but it alone could not have caused the defeat. The irresolute behaviour of Siraj-ud-daulah was also responsible for the catastrophe. For some time after his accession, the Nawab showed purpose, decision and energy. But he gave no evidence of these qualities from the time he heard of the possibility of Ahmad Shah Abdali's advance towards Bihar. Thence he adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the English, overlooked the disloyalty of his generals and officers and even reinstated Mir Ja'far in his office knowing him well to be a traitor and conspirator. His firmness towards Mir Ja'far should have frightened the conspirators and averted the calamity of Plassey.

In addition to the above, certain fundamental causes were operating to undermine Muslim rule in Bengal. The deep seated hatred of the Hindu aristocracy (officers, zamindars and traders) towards Muslim rulers in spite of generous treatment was the primary cause of the defeat at Plassey. It has been explained earlier how the policy of the Nawabs created an influential

class of Hindu aristocrats in political and social life. They responded by a burning desire to end Muslim rule. The misplaced generosity of some Mughul Emperors towards English traders contributed to the latter's prosperity and strength. But what proved most fatal to Muslim rule was the crisis of character. Mir Ja'far was a product of his environment. The treachery of an individual like him would not have extinguished Muslim rule in Bengal. Narrow-minded selfishness and corruption were the order of the day. Officers, generals and soldiers lightly sacrificed vital national interests for small personal benefits. Besides, Mir Ja'far, Khadim Husain Khan, Yar Lutf Khan, Rahim Khan and other commanders and their soldiers were actuated by selfish motives. The Hindu officers, Manikchand, Nandkumar, Rai Durlabh, Rajballabh and others proved faithless and corrupt ready to barter away political independence for selfish ends. Their character is indeed an index of the society in which they lived.

The absence of a navy was a serious disadvantage for the Muslim rulers in their duel against the English traders. Even though Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah had expelled the English from Calcutta without a naval force he could not drive them out of Hugli. There was nothing to check the English when their ships entered the Hugli river with reinforcements from Madras. The Muslim rulers remained indifferent to the potential danger from the rising naval force of the Europeans and ignored the danger. Nawab 'Ali Vardi Khan had come to realize it but he was old and too occupied with the Maratha invasion and other internal troubles.

The English become supreme

The Battle of Plassey established the East India Company as the ruler of Bengal for all practical purposes. Mir Ja'far was completely dependent upon Robert Clive, who was appointed governor of the Company in the province in June 1758. Clive controlled the policies and actions of the puppet Nawab. Mir Ja'far wanted to remove Rai Durlabh, diwan, and Raja Ramnarain, the deputy governor of Bihar, from their offices, as he suspected them of disloyalty. But Clive prevented him from taking this action. He had to rely upon the military support of the English to keep his throne and defend his territories. In 1759 Prince

'Ali Gauhar (later on Emperor Shah Alam II), planning to occupy Bengal, advanced upon Patna. Mir Ja'far's courage failed him and he begged Clive for military assistance. The English army averted the crisis and saved his throne. This made him more dependent upon the English. Because of this ignominious dependence, Mir Ja'far was nicknamed 'Clive's ass'. Ghulam Husain Tabatabai narrates an amusing incident in this connection. He writes that one day Mir Ja'far told a commander in his court that Colonel Clive had complained that the commander's conduct towards Clive was disrespectful. To this, the commander prompty replied, "How can I show disrespect to the Colonel (Clive), I, who do not take anything in the morning without making three bows to his ass", meaning Mir Ja'far. This story reflects the humiliating dependence of Mir Ja'far on the English, and the contempt in which he was held by his own officers and people. Mir Ja'far was conscious of his own helplessness and he intrigued with the Dutch at Chinsura to free himself from the tutelage of the English. But Clive read his designs and took prompt action. He marched upon the Dutch and defeated them at Bedara in November 1759. In their extremity the Dutch sued for peace and had to pay a large indemnity to the English.

Clive left for England in 1760. Before he departed, the English were supreme in Bengal and Bihar. The French as well as the Dutch had been eliminated from the political and commercial fields while the English Company controlled the government and trade of Bengal.

Mir Ja'far was notoriously incompetent. People detested the very sound of his name, because he was a puppet in the hands of his masters. He earned the distrust of the English after his conspiracy with the Dutch. He could not meet the ever-growing demands of the Company for cash and concessions. So, Holwell, the acting governor, and Vansittart, the permanent governor of Calcutta, planned to put his son-in-law Mir Qasim on the *masnad*. A secret treaty was concluded on 27 September 1760 with Mir Qasim, who promised to pay off the outstanding dues to the English and grant to them the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong. The English offered to appoint him deputy nawab with the right to succeed Mir Ja'far. To give effect to this scheme Vansittart moved from Calcutta to Murshidabad with English

troops. Mir Ja'far refused to appoint Mir Qasim as deputy nawab. But the advance of the English troops frightened him and he abdicated and retired to Calcutta. Mir Qasim was installed as Nawab (1760). The new Nawab aimed at strengthening his position by reducing English influence. He soon found that he could not rely on Hindu officers, zamindars and traders. As a protege of the English, Ramnarain, deputy governor of Bihar, had behaved as an independent ruler and had not cared to give an account of his charge for years. Mir Qasim promptly advanced to punish the disloyal officer. Ramnarain was forced to submit. He and his relations along with his associate Raja Murley Dhar, the chief of the intelligence service, were imprisoned. His successor, Raja Rajballabh, was also found to be in league with the English and was consequently held in detention. The great banking family of Jagat Seth, who had supported Mir Ja'far and later helped Mir Qasim to come to the throne, proved disloyal to Mir Qasim as well. Along with other Hindu chiefs they intrigued against him. Tired of their intrigues, Mir Qasim took drastic action against them. Ghulam Husain Tabatabai writes that Ramnarain, Raja Rajballabh and his sons, Rai Rayan Umid Ray and his son as well as zamindars Fath Singh, Beniad Singh and others were thrown into the Ganges.

Mir Qasim and the English

Mir Qasim then tried to free himself from the control of the English. Asserting his freedom as a ruler, he removed the capital from Murshidabad to Monghyr and adopted an independent policy. This led him into trouble with the English especially over the question of transit dues. The English Company had, it will be remembered, all along enjoyed exemption from these dues. But this privilege was abused; the servants of the company also claimed exemption from the payment of tolls on illegal trade. This caused a great loss to the Nawab's exchequer and placed other merchant communities at a disadvantage because they had to pay the tolls. Mir Qasim protested but the Calcutta council ignored his remonstrances. Thereupon, the Nawab abolished transit duties altogether. This affected the special position of the English, as they had now to compete with others on equal terms. They denounced the policy of the Nawab and Ellis, their

agent at the Patna factory, made an attempt to capture the city of 'Azimabad. The Nawab's forces retaliated by destroying the English garrison at Patna. These and other incidents led to the outbreak of war between the Nawab and the English in 1763. The English forces under Major Adams defeated the army of Mir Qasim at Katwah, Murshidabad, Giria, Sooty, Udaynala and Monghyr. The Nawab fled to Patna, where he executed the English prisoners and then left for Awadh. The English raised Mir Ja'far a second time to the *masnad* of Bengal (1763).

Mir Qasim formed an alliance with Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab-Wazir of Awadh, and Emperor Shah Alam II to drive the English out of Bengal. Their combined forces fought against the English at Buxar on 22 October 1764. The English General Hector Munro won a signal victory over them. The Emperor came to terms with the English. Shuja-ud-daulah fled to Rohilkhand and Awadh was overrun by the English. Mir Qasim who had lost his all, lived as an obscure wanderer till he died near Delhi in 1777.

The failure of Mir Qasim against the English was primarily due to his financial weakness and the internal problems created by the Hindu officials and zamindars. At the beginning of his rule he had to pay off Mir Ja'far's debts to the Company and make an additional payment of £ 200,000 to the Calcutta Council as a price for their support. The transfer of capital to Monghyr must have cost him enormous sums of money. The Hindu zamindars withheld payments of revenue. Whatever could be realized from them was realized by force. Ramnarain, Rajballabh, Jagat Seth and other Hindu chiefs and zamindars proved rebellious and they curried favour with the English. The European artillerymen in the service of Mir Qasim proved treacherous in the battlefield. While the Nawab's forces were gaining advantage over the English in the battle of Giria the desertion of two hundred European artillery men to the English side created consternation and confusion in the Nawab's army, and caused his defeat. The Armenian officers and soldiers who manned his artillery followed this example in the battle of Udaynala. The Nawab's Armenian generals, Morca and Aratoon, with their gunmen secretly helped the English in making a surprise attack on his camp in the dead of the night. This led the Nawab to suspect the loyalty of his

commander-in-chief and minister Gurgin Khan, who was also an Armenian, and he connived at the murder of this distinguished general by some soldiers. The treachery of Maharaja Beni Bahadur, governor of Awadh and Allahabad (and minister of Shuja'-ud-daulah), was greatly responsible for the defeat of Mir Qasim in in Battle of Buxar. The victory of the English was also partly facilitated by the diplomacy of the imperial diwan, Shitab Rai.

It may be argued that Mir Qasim and his allies had bigger forces than those of the English and Mir Ja'far. The English army, though smaller, was well-trained and disciplined and its artillery was effective. Mir Qasim had begun training his army on the European model. But his scheme of re-organization was interrupted by the rebellions of the zamindars, lack of financial resources and the immediate declaration of war by the English. The Armenian and European generals and artillery-men from whom Mir Qasim expected loyal support subverted his army from within. The success of the English was the victory of organization and discipline over the forces of disorganization and disunity in the Nawab's government. The Battle of Buxar definitely proved English superiority in the art of warfare and confirmed their political supremacy in Bengal and Bihar. In spite of all his efforts, Mir Qasim failed to check the political ascendancy of the English and restore the prestige of the Muslim rule. He perceived that the Hindu animosity posed a danger and he began to remove the Hindu chiefs to avert recurring political crises, but he was not given time by his enemies. Mir Qasim also made the Emperor and Shuja'-ud-daulah conscious of the rising danger to Muslim sovereignty over the subcontinent, and made common cause with them. The allies did not succeed. It, however, goes to the credit of Mir Qasim that he refused to submit to foreign domination and struggled against his enemies to the last.

Dual Government

Mir Ja'far who was once again proclaimed Nawab in 1763 ruled till his death early in 1765. He was succeeded by his son Najm-ud-daulah who was as helpless against the English as his father had been. In May 1765 Clive returned to Calcutta as governor for the second time. He put the affairs of the Company in Bengal on a somewhat orderly basis. He first dealt with Emperor

Shah Alam II and the Nawab of Awadh, who had been defeated at Buxar as allies of Mir Qasim. By the Treaty of Allahabad (1765), he restored the territory of Awadh (except Allahabad and Kara) to Shuja'-ud-daulah on payment of fifty lakhs of rupees. The English governor gave over to the Emperor the districts of Allahabad and Kara and obtained from him a *farman* granting the *diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the Company on 12 August 1765. The Company agreed to pay to the Emperor an annual tribute of 26 lakhs of rupees. The Treaty of Allahabad and the grant of *diwani* by the Emperor gave legal status to the Company and confirmed its political power. Clive also made a defensive alliance with Shuja'-ud-daulah and agreed to help the Nawab with troops to defend his frontier. The cost of the maintenance of such troops was, however, to be borne by the Nawab himself. Awadh was thus turned into a friendly buffer state between the English dominion in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and the Maratha empire. On the strength of the *farman*, Clive took over the revenue administration of Bengal for the Company which had already assumed military control of the province. The Nawab was left only with the responsibility of maintaining law and order. The Company would collect the revenue and pay 53 lakhs of rupees (later on reduced to 32 lakhs) to the Nawab to meet the cost of his administration. Clive appointed Muhammad Raza Khan and Shitab Rai as agents of the Company to collect revenues in Bengal and Bihar respectively. This bifurcation of the administration of Bengal by Clive is known as the Dual System or Double Government. This strange system resulted in misgovernment and confusion. The Company had power, army and money, but no responsibility. The Nawab bore the responsibility for administration, but had no army, no money and not even the initiative in policy-making. The Dual System, according to Kaye, "made confusion more confounded and corruption more corrupt". In the great famine of 1770 that carried away nearly one-third of the population of Bengal, neither the Nawab nor the Company gave any relief to the famine-striken people. Warren Hastings who was appointed governor in 1772 saw the anomalies of the Dual System. He relieved the titular Nawab of his administrative responsibilities and made him a pensioner of the Company. The Company thus assumed the entire respon-

sibility for civil government and clearly stood forth as the ruler of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

Clive retired in February 1767 and left for England. Helped by an abundance of native courage and shrewdness and an inborn capacity for intrigue, he founded the British empire in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. His enemies in England impeached him in Parliament for deceiving Omichand and for other corrupt practices. The House of Commons passed resolutions condemning his malpractices, but also recorded high appreciation of his services to the country. Speaking of the job accomplished by Clive, Macaulay observes, "Our island has scarcely produced a man more truly great either in arms or in council". Clive was succeeded first by Verelst (1767-69) and then by Cartier (1770-72). In this period which was marked by confusion and corruption, the countryside was devastated by a terrible famine. The cupidity of the Company's servants, traders and indigo-planters drove 'this fine country' to the verge of 'ruin'.

Company's rule : Warren Hastings

Warren Hastings, a servant of the Company in Bengal for many years, was appointed governor to establish an orderly administration and consolidate the British position in Bengal. His first act as governor was to abolish the Dual System. The Nawab was pensioned off with an annual allowance of 15 lakhs of rupees. The capital of Bengal was transferred from Murshidabad to Calcutta. The administration as well as revenue collection was brought under the direct control of the Company. Muhammad Raza Khan and Shitab Rai, the deputy nawabs and revenue agents, were prosecuted on charges of defalcation. They were acquitted, but their offices were abolished. The revenue administration was placed under the control of the governor and his council, who formed a Board of Revenue. English collectors were appointed in all districts to collect revenue and administer civil justice. The lands were auctioned and a five year settlement of the land revenue was made with the highest bidders. This farming of revenue by auction left the peasants at the mercy of the revenue farmers. Warren Hastings set up a civil court and a criminal court in each district. The collector dispensed civil justice and the criminal court was presided over by a 'native'

judge. Two appellate courts were instituted in Calcutta, the Sadr Diwani 'Adalat (Supreme Civil Court) and the Sadr Nizamat 'Adalat (Supreme Criminal Court). The Sadr Diwani 'Adalat was presided over by the governor and the members of the council. The Sadr Nizamat 'Adalat was placed under the native judges and the control of the council. Thus Warren Hastings laid the foundation of an administrative system on which Lord Cornwallis was able to raise an enduring structure. He also introduced some commercial reforms. He saw the abuses of the *dastaks* against which Mir Qasim had protested and adopted a policy of free trade. In 1773, Warren Hastings abolished the *dastaks* and suppressed all custom houses except those at Calcutta, Hugli, Murshidabad, Patna and Dacca. The duties on all items of import and export except salt, betelnut and tobacco were lowered to 2½ per cent. This measure had the effect of encouraging trade.

Warren Hastings displayed considerable ability in reorganizing the affairs of the Company. But the Regulating Act of 1773 brought in certain complications for him. This Act aimed at regulating the Company's administration and subjecting its operations to the supervision of the British Parliament. The rulers of England had been receiving, since the Battle of Plassey, grave reports against the scandalous conduct of the Company's servants. The Company was drifting into financial chaos, while its servants were amassing huge fortunes, returning home as *nabobs*. An outcry was raised in 1773, when the Company petitioned to the British government for a loan of a million sterling to tide over its financial difficulties. An inquiry revealed awful mismanagement in the Company's conduct of affairs. So Lord North, the Prime Minister, carried through Parliament in 1773 the Regulating Act to set the Company's administration in order. The Regulating Act changed the designation of governor of Bengal to governor-general of Bengal and gave him the power of superintendence over the governments of Madras and Bombay. The governor-general was to be assisted and controlled by a council of four members. The decision of the majority was to prevail in all matters brought before the Council. A supreme court was established at Calcutta with a chief justice and three puisne judges. The governor-general as well as his councillors were to hold office for five years. This law was the first act of interference on the part

of the British Parliament in the Company's government. But it was defective because its provisions were vague. It made the governor-general, the chief executive, helpless, as he could be overruled by the majority of the council. It did not define the jurisdiction of the supreme court, the law it was to administer and its relations with the council. The governor-general's power over the presidencies of Madras and Bombay was not defined. These defects occasioned conflicts between the governor-general and the council, between the governor-general and the presidencies and between the supreme court and the council. Three councillors, namely, Philip Francis, Clavering and Monson, assumed an attitude of open hostility towards Hastings. They quarrelled with him, reversed his policies and measures and imposed their own views on him. They condemned the Rohilla war and forced upon Shuja'-ud-daulah's successor a new treaty by which the Nawab of Awadh was made to surrender the district of Banaras to the Company. They censured Warren Hastings' extortion of large sums of money from the Begams of Awadh. The quarrel was further embittered by the case of Raja Nandkumar. There had existed a conflict between the governor-general and the council on the one hand and the governor-general and the supreme court on the other. The court claimed jurisdiction over the entire population of the province and the council allowed it over the British subjects only. Warren Hastings settled the issue by appointing Sir Elijah Impey, the chief justice of the supreme court, as the chief justice of the Sadr Diwani 'Adalat in addition. In the words of Macaulay, Impey was the most infamous of the British judges. He was corrupt and unscrupulous. Nor was Warren Hastings less so. He exacted a sum of 3½ lakhs of rupees from Munni Begam, widow of Mir Ja'far. Mrs. Hastings and Impey between themselves exercised the patronage of the governor-general. Thus the governor-general and the chief justice became beneficiaries of the corrupt practices prevailing in the administration of justice. Instigated by the council, Nandkumar brought a charge of bribery against Warren Hastings. Before the council could try the case, Warren Hastings caused to be lodged a case of forgery against Nandkumar in 1775. Evidence was procured by doubtful methods. Impey, the friend of the governor-general, tried the case according to English law

and sentenced Nandkumar to death. Nandkumar was notoriously unscrupulous. His treachery to Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah has been noticed earlier. He was diwan and chief minister of Mir Ja'far. But he was never loyal to his masters. Hastings used him as a tool in the beginning. Macaulay writes, "Nandkumar had proposed to destroy the Mussalman administration and to rise on its ruins. Both his malevolence and cupidity had been disappointed". Nandkumar deserved capital punishment for treachery and treason. But the death punishment for forgery was harsh and excessive. It was unjust and the result of Warren Hastings' vindictiveness. The power of the supreme court to try the natives was doubtful. The opposition of the council to Warren Hastings continued till 1777. His two bitter opponents, Monson and Clavering, had died by 1777. He wounded his third opponent, Francis, in a duel and the latter went to England leaving the governor-general free to pursue his own policies. From this time onwards, Warren Hastings acquired undisputed control over the administration.

Warren Hastings aimed at consolidating the British dominion in Bengal. He followed Clive's policy of retaining Awadh as a buffer state against the Marathas. He discontinued the annual tribute of 26 lakhs of rupees to Emperor Shah Alam II and took away Allahabad and Kara from him, as the latter had gone over to the protection of the Marathas. By the Treaty of Banaras with Shuja'-ud-daulah in 1772, Hastings sold these two districts to the Nawab for fifty lakhs of rupees. The Company also agreed to render military assistance to the Nawab on payment of a subsidy. This treaty involved the Company in a war with the Rohillas who ruled over the territory known as Rohilkhand in the northwest of Awadh. Shuja'-ud-daulah had coveted this fertile tract which was ruled by a confederacy of Afghan chiefs under the leadership of Hafiz Rahmat Khan. In 1772, they signed a treaty with Shuja'-ud-daulah, who agreed to help them against the Marathas in return for a payment of 40 lakhs of rupees. Early in 1773 the Marathas invaded Rohilkhand, but they retired before the combined forces of Awadh and the Company. The Nawab demanded the promised amount, but the Rohillas evaded payment. With the help of the Company's army under Colonel Champion, Shuja'-ud-daulah invaded Rohilkhand. The Rohillas

fought valiantly at Miranpur Katra. Their brave leader, Rahmat Khan, was killed and a large number of them fell on the battlefield. Rohilkhand was annexed to Awadh. Warren Hastings thus helped the Nawab in destroying an independent people who had done no harm to the English. The Company obtained 40 lakhs of rupees in this transaction.

Warren Hastings was not in favour of a direct clash with the Maratha power. But the Bombay Council, which acted independently, interfered in the Maratha politics and involved itself in a costly war. The Council at Calcutta condemned the action of the Bombay government, but Warren Hastings supported the Bombay authorities for reasons of prestige. He was, however, overruled by his councillors. Nevertheless, later developments compelled the governor-general to organise military operations against the Marathas. After protracted warfare, the Treaty of Salbai was concluded with the Peshwa in 1781 and the English obtained possession of Salsette. This costly war exhausted the Company's treasury and drove Hastings to arbitrary and questionable expedients for raising money. Thus he extored money from Chait Singh, Raja of Banaras, who came under the protection of the Company by the treaty of Banaras signed in 1772. The annual tribute of the Raja was fixed at 22½ lakhs of rupees. In 1778 Warren Hastings demanded from him and obtained an emergency contribution of 5 lakhs of rupees. The demand was repeated in 1779 and the Raja was again forced to pay. In the following year Hastings ordered the Raja to furnish 1,000 cavalry in addition. As the Raja supplied 500 cavalry and 500 matchlockmen, the governor-general accused him of disloyalty, fined him 50 lakhs of rupees, marched to Banaras and placed Chait Singh under arrest. At this the Raja's soldiers were provoked and they killed three officers of the English contingent along with a number of sepoys. Hastings fled to Chunar. The trouble was, however, suppressed. Although Chait Singh's conduct was above board, he was deposed and his throne was given to his nephew, who agreed to pay an annual tribute of 40 lakhs of rupees to the Company. The whole transaction was marked by an utter lack of scruples on the part of the governor-general. Similarly, Warren Hastings extracted money from the Begams of Awadh, mother and grandmother of Asaf-ud-daulah, the successor of Shuja'-ud-daulah. The Nawab

was in arrears on account of military subsidy due to the Company. In 1775 the mother of the Nawab paid him 75 lakhs of rupees on an assurance endorsed by the Calcutta Council to the effect that he would make no further demand. Hastings withdrew this guarantee on the charge that the Begams had instigated Chait Singh to rebel. He incited Asaf-ud-daulah to plunder the Begams and sent an English force to Fyzabad to intimidate them. The Begams were virtually imprisoned and their eunuch stewards were lashed and fettered till they parted with the treasure. By this barbarous method the Nawab obtained 100 lakhs of rupees and paid off his debts to the Company. The severity to which the Begams were subjected has few parallels in history and is a stain on the British record in this subcontinent.

To remedy the defects of the Regulating Act, the British Parliament passed Pitt's India Act in 1784. It extended the control of the British cabinet over the Company's administration through a Board of Control charged with the superintendence and direction of the affairs of the Company. The council of the governor-general was reconstituted with a membership of three. Madras and Bombay were definitely subordinated to governor-general of Bengal in matters of war, revenue and diplomacy. Hasting's demand for a provision enabling the governor-general to override his council was not conceded. The governor-general strongly disapproved of the measure. He resigned office and left for England in February 1785. On his return home, he was impeached for accepting a bribe from Munni Begam, ruining the innocent Rohillas, victimizing Chait Singh, executing Nandkumar and despoiling the Begams of Awadh. Burke, Fox and Sheridan helped by Francis acted as managers of impeachment. The trial lasted from 1785 to 1795. Hastings was finally acquitted of all charges. But he was financially ruined by the cost of defence.

With all his limitations Warren Hastings was a man of determination and an able administrator. He served his nation devotedly and worked indefatigably to promote its interests. He was the real builder of the British empire in the subcontinent. He consolidated the rule of the Company by giving it an effective administration and strengthening its hold over its territories. He provided for the defence of the Company's dominion by strengthening British influence over the Nawab of Awadh and

using his territory as the first line of defence against the Marathas. Under his shrewd direction, the Company got over the complications created by the governments of Madras and Bombay in their dealings with the Marathas and Mysore. Hastings thus made the Company not merely a power but the strongest authority in the subcontinent. "From primacy it was but a step to supremacy". He also saved the Company from financial collapse by daring and questionable expedients. Indeed Warren Hastings was the saviour as well as builder of the British empire. So, he could well say to his countrymen, "I gave you all, and you have rewarded me with confiscation, disgrace and a life of impeachment".

Warren Hastings took interest in letters and culture. He knew Bengali and Persian and possessed some knowledge of Urdu. At his initiative the Hindu law was codified in Sanskrit by Halhed with the help of ten pundits. He patronized Charles Wilkins in translating the *Gita* and *Hitopadesha* into English, and Sir William Jones in the establishment of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. He encouraged Rennell in the preparation of the *Bengal Atlas* (1781). He founded a madrasah of Islamic learning at Calcutta. He also arranged for the compilation of *Hidaya,* a compendium of Muslim law. Under his inspiration, European scholars, like Wilkins, Halhed and William Jones began the study of the classical literatures of the Muslims and the Hindus and prepared the way for the work of the British Orientalists in the subcontinent.

Cornwallis

After Warren Hastings' departure Sir John Macpherson, a senior member of the council, acted as governor-general till the assumption of office by Lord Cornwallis in 1786. Lord Cornwallis belonged to an influencial English family and enjoyed the friendship of Prime Minister, Pitt the Younger, and of Dundas, the President of the Board of Control. He had served as the supreme commander of the British Army in the war of American Independence and was known for his integrity. By a special Act passed by Parliament in 1786, he was appointed both governor-general and commander-in-chief and was allowed the power of overriding the council in emergencies. His personal prestige and

extraordinary position and powers enabled Lord Cornwallis to carry through a series of administrative reforms and thus leave a lasting impression on British rule in the subcontinent.

The first task of Lord Cornwallis was to fight corruption and purify the administration. He enforced the rule against private trade and stopped the commissions earned by Company's servants. They began to receive handsome salaries instead. This was the first step towards the establishment of a contented and efficient civil service. But he excluded the people of the subcontinent from all higher and responsible offices.

Cornwallis sought to separate the executive and judicial powers of the Company's administrators. The collector, the head of the revenue administration of the district, had extensive judicial and magisterial powers. Cornwallis took away these powers and left him with revenue administration only. Provision was made for the appointment of a district judge to preside over the civil court of the district and also discharge the magisterial and police functions. A gradation of civil courts was set up with the munsif's court at the lowest and the Sadr Diwani 'Adalat at the top of the rung. The faujdari district court was abolished. The district judge was given the power to arrest criminals and try smaller cases. Four provincial courts sat at Calcutta, Murshidabad, Dacca and Patna. They heard appeals in civil and criminal cases and also functioned as circuit courts to try cases involving serious offences. The Sadr Nizamat 'Adalat was the highest court of appeal in criminal cases. These and other reforms set up the framework of the administration and largely eliminated corruption from the ranks of the civil service.

He reorganized the land revenue system and introduced the system known as the Permanent Settlement. The Company generally followed the revenue practices of the Mughul administration except that the Mughuls preferred direct settlement with the cultivator. Warren Hastings introduced the policy of revenue collection through agents or middle-men. He devised the method of auctioning the revenues to the revenue-farmers who thus became zamindars. At first these revenue-farmers were given the right of collection for five years and afterwards the arrangement was made annual with the highest bidder. This method proved disastrous. The zamindars often failed to pay the

stipulated amount of revenue which was too high because of irresponsible bidding at the time of auction. The government was unable to formulate the annual budget because of the uncertainties of its income from land. To obviate these drawbacks Lord Cornwallis settled the revenues with the zamindars for 10 years in 1790 and converted this arrangement into a permanent settlement in 1793. The Settlement converted the zamindars into permanent owners of land, subject to the payment of a fixed annual revenue to the government. It benefited the government, because it was now assured of a fixed annual revenue from the zamindars. It also created from among the grateful zamindars a powerful group of loyal supporters of the British rule. The zamindars were the greatest gainers in the settlement, as it vested in them the hereditary proprietorship of the zamindari. The settlement ignored the claims of the ryots and left them at the mercy of the zamindars as they could be evicted from their holdings arbitrarily. The Settlement proved financially ruinous for the government in course of time. The production and prices rose, but the revenue demand remained unaltered. Cornwallis granted zamindaris to Hindus. The Permanent Settlement was a severe blow to the Muslims because many hereditary Muslim zamindars lost their estates and the Hindu zamindars were extremely unjust and harsh to their Muslim tenants.

Lord Cornwallis took over the office of governor-general with the declared policy of maintaining neutrality in the affairs of other powers. But he departed from this policy in the case of Tipu Sultan, the spirited ruler of Mysore. The British were in no mood to tolerate an active and able adversary. Cornwallis believed that Tipu would seek French help. This suspicion led to the outbreak of the Third Anglo-Mysore War. For two years Tipu Sultan fought heroically but was ultimately forced to surrender because of the treachery of the Marathas. He had to cede Malabar, Coorg, Dindigul and Barahmahal comprising a half of his dominions to the English. The Marathas and the Nizam also gained some share in the territory seized from Mysore.

The Impact of British rule over Bengal

The Company's rule let loose corruption and anarchy in Bengal. In the Dual government established by Clive the Company

enjoyed political and financial power; the Nawab who bore the responsibility for the maintenance of law and order was powerless. He could not keep peace or curb corrupt practices. State profiteering in essential commodities, such as rice, drained away Bengal's wealth and ended in the terrible famine of 1769-70, which carried off one-third of the population of the province. In giving a picture of this dreadful famine, W.W. Hunter says, "The scene of misery that intervened still continues to shock humanity". He adds, "the husband-men sold their cattle, their implements of cultivation and their sons and daughters till at length no buyer of their children could be found. They ate leaves and grass and dead bodies. The famished and disease-stricken poured in cities, died in thousands and the multitude of mangled and fostering corpses at length threatened the existence of the citizens". Even in this unprecedented calamity, the Company's servants traded on human miseries. "The revenues were collected with cruel severity". The Nawab did not have money to relieve the distress of the people and the Company did not care to alleviate their sufferings. On the contrary. "The land revenue was violently kept up and the loss of revenue due to death or starvation was more than made up by extortion from those who survived". During the most acute phase of the famine, the revenue realized from Bengal and Bihar exceeded the collection of the preceding year by several lakhs. The farmers of revenue, who were Hindu banias, money lenders and dealers, exacted money from the helpless peasants in every possible way. The Company and its servants made huge fortunes from revenues, bribes, gifts and illegal trade. "The business of making and unmaking Nawabs alone brought them a sum of £ 6,261,166."

The increasing commercial monopoly of the Company crushed the indigenous traders of Bengal. The company paid for the goods it bought from the revenues and the money realized from sales in Europe was invested in England. This bled the country white because it amounted to taking away its products without paying any price. This impoverished the people to such an extent that Bengal was never able to recover from the effects of such plunder. Its servants greatly extended illegal private trade by unauthorised and arbitrary use of the *dastaks*. They also forcibly purchased goods at low prices, sold their wares

at high prices and compelled the weavers to work for them. Their high-handedness ruined the traders and artificers, and craftsmen had to abandon their professions and take to "begging or thieving". In consequence, arts, crafts and industries decayed and Bengal's prosperity disappeared.

The Company's rule ruined the Muslims of Bengal even more. Ever since the Battle of Plassey, they were subjected to political and economic disabilities. The Hindus were quick to take advantage of this state of affairs and help the British rulers to shatter the vestige of Muslim power. Kalyan Singh, son of Shitab Rai, prepared Emperor Shah Alam's mind for the grant of the *diwani* of Bengal to the Company. The very fact that even the Persian teacher of Warren Hastings was a Hindu (Ray Nabakrishna of Sobhabazar) is sufficient to show the prejudice of the governor-general against the Muslims. A Muslim, at any rate, was better qualified for a Persian teacher's post. The British rulers looked upon the Hindus as natural allies, and the Hindus also continued to be a source of strength to their new masters. Replying to the questions asked by the members of the Select Committee of 1813, Sir John Malcolm observed, "The attachment of the Hindoo population of India is the chief source of our security in India". Thomas Munro also thought that the discontent of the Muslims would not affect the Company's government "while the Hindu population is satisfied". The Muslims were crushed under the double domination of the British rulers and their Hindu collaborators.

The Muslims were stunned at the magnitude of the disaster brought about by the loss of political power. Confused and confounded, and involved in sudden impoverishment, they could not give a lead to the Muslim masses. "The British were aware of these feelings; therefore, it was natural that they should suspect the Muslims of disloyalty". For the Hindus the British rule was merely a change of masters. The British rulers treated the Muslims as natural enemies and made no attempt to win them over to their side. The British discriminated against the Muslims in every respect. They lost government posts which had been their mainstay. The Company's government severely stopped employing them. The Muslims had held higher posts in the army, revenue and judicial administration. This had accounted for

their economic prosperity, social prestige and cultural progress. With the fall of the *nizamat* of Bengal, hundreds of Muslim military officers and nearly a lakh of the soldiers went out of employment. Very few of these soldiers could find a place in the Company's army. The bulk of the disbanded soldiers had to take to cultivation. This increased the dependence of Bengali Muslims on land. The Company's revenue reorganization "elevated the Hindu collectors, who up to that time had held but unimportant posts, to the position of land-holders, gave them a proprietary right in the soil and allowed them to accumulate wealth which would have gone to the Mussalmans under their own rule". Metcalfe characterised the Permanent Settlement as the most sweeping act of oppression ever committed in any country, as it transferred the landed property from their rightful owners 'to a set of baboos, who have made their wealth by bribery and corruption'.

For centuries during the Muslim rule many scholars and religious persons as well as a large number of educational and religious institutions were given revenue free lands. It was found in the time of Warren Hastings that the revenue free lands "amounted to about one-fourth of the total land in many localities". Lord Cornwallis directed the collectors by two regulations to inquire into the genuineness of all such grants. As the collectors failed to conduct inquiries properly, more regulations were passed in 1811, 1817 and 1819 which resulted in the resumption of large scale rent free estates. The severity of resumption proceedings was somewhat relaxed by the regulation of 1828.

The revenue free properties of thousands of Muslims were resumed on flimsy grounds. "The Hindu, however, careful to safeguard his right under a foreign government, whether Muslim or British, took greater care of his deeds and so fared better". Even the endowments of the educational and religious institutions were not spared. Hunter admits, "Our Resumption Officers knew no pity. They calmly enforced the law. The panic of those days is still remembered, and it has left to us a bitter legacy of hatred". Referring to the effects of the resumption of revenue free lands, Hunter says, "Hundreds of ancient families were ruined, and the educational system of the Mussalmans, which was almost entirely maintained by rent-free grants, received its death-blow".

The policies of the Company deprived the Bengali Muslims of office and land, and the once prosperous community was reduced to poverty. Another blow was dealt to the Muslims in 1837 when English and the vernacular languages were introduced in offices and courts in place of Persian. This sudden change threw thousands of Muslims out of employment, "as they turned illiterate overnight," and thus they lost their subsistence. The Hindus, who had accepted English from the beginning as they had accepted the English rule, reaped the benefits of the change. The Muslims were thus ousted from 'every grade of official life'. Commenting on the situation, the *Durbin*, a Calcutta Persian paper, wrote, "All sorts of employment, great and small, are being gradually snatched away from the Muhammadans and bestowed on men of other races, particularly the Hindus". Even if a Muslim candidate was duly qualified, a Hindu was invariably chosen. Sometimes in advertisements specific mention was made that the appointment would be given to none but the Hindus. The exclusion of the Muslims was so complete that in the government offices in Calcutta they could not expect a job above the rank of porter, messenger, filler of ink-pots and mender of pens.

The Permanent Settlement, as we have stated earlier, left the peasants at the mercy of the zamindars and middlemen. The zamindars rented lands to farmers (called *patnidars*), the farmers to sub-farmers 'till farm within farm became the order of the day, each resembling a screw upon screw" and the pressure of all fell upon the peasant. The zamindar, patnidar and sub-patnidar each received a profit and all these profits were squeezed out of the unfortunate cultivator. Over and above rack-renting, there was the extortion of the agents and *gomashtas* on many pretexts. To meet their demands, the peasants had to borrow money from the *mahajans* at exorbitant rates of interest varying from 37 per cent to 50, or 60 per cent, by mortgaging their cattle or land. The greedy mahajans very often cheated the peasants of their crops. It was difficult for the illiterate peasants to obtain justice against the exploitation of the landlords, patnidars and mahajans.

The indigo-planters were another class of exploiters. Indigo had been cultivated in the subcontinent for a long time in the

past. The English traders found it a profitable commodity and extended its cultivation to Bengal and Bihar under their own supervision. But the price offered to the cultivators was so low that it did not meet the cost of cultivation. However, they were forced to continue indigo cultivation by the English planters who compelled them to enter into disadvantageous contracts. If they failed to fulfil the terms of the bargain they were seized, confined and beaten and their other crops were destroyed and houses burnt. The agents of the planters also harassed the cultivators in many ways and the Company's government gave them no relief from this oppression. The English magistrates decided the cases of oppression in favour of the planters of their own race. As indigo was extensively planted in Muslim areas of Bengal its production aggravated the distress of the Muslim masses.

The weavers, majority of whom were Muslims, suffered from the harsh methods followed by the traders of the East India Company. Bengal had possessed a prosperous weaving industry throughout Muslim rule. The cloth manufactured in the province was prodigious in quality. The fine muslin manufactured under the patronage of the Muslim rulers was celebrated even in Europe. The craftsmen turned out different varieties of cloth, from the coarsest to the finest. Although Bengal itself used to produce fine cotton, a large quantity of it had to be imported from Bombay and Surat to feed the looms of Bengal. The textile manufactures of Bengal were eagerly bought in the subcontinent and other countries of Asia as well as Europe and Africa. The large volume of export used to draw gold, silver and other precious metals from foreign countries. Such had been the flow of wealth to Bengal on account of this export trade that the province was considered to be a sink where gold and silver disappeared without a sign of return. The weavers, as such, were an economically affluent people. The commercial policy of the East India Company crushed this flourishing cotton industry and the prosperity of the weavers. The English traders monopolised the textile trade of the province and arbitrarily fixed the quantities to be produced by and prices to be paid to the weavers. Their agents and *gomashtas* advanced money to the weavers and forced them into harsh contracts. Bolts writes that if the weavers refused

the advance (*dadni*) they were tied in their girdles and flogged. They were made to accept a price which was often 15 per cent to 40 per cent less than the prevailing market rate. Naturally, the manufacture of muslin and other finer varieties of cloth declined and many weavers cut off their own thumbs to escape compulsory labour under such terms. A severer blow was yet in store for the weavers. The Company adopted the policy of encouraging the manufacture of raw cotton and silk only. The silk weavers were forced to seek work in the Company's factories and were prohibited from working at their own looms. As a result the indigenous weaving of textile cloth practically came to an end and this industrial province was turned into a producer of raw-materials for the manufacturers of Great Britain. The indigenous products were largely replaced by machine made cheap textiles imported from England. That is why the local hand-woven and durable cloth was no longer demanded even within the subcontinent. The weavers of Bengal, mostly Muslim, were thus ruined.

The manufacturers of Bengal had built up a prosperous export business and a large number of Muslim merchants—some of them very rich—thrived on it. They were the first to be ruined under the unfair competition of the Company and its servants who made it impossible for any one to trade except the small bania shopkeeper who sold articles of bare necessity.

In this way the policies of the British rulers reduced the influential, prosperous and enlightened Muslim community of Bengal into a state of penury. There was none to give them relief from injustice or show them the way out of their misfortunes. It was Haji Shari'at ullah, the founder of the *Faraizi* movement, who first gave lead to the Muslims of Bengal in their afflictions.

A SHORT READING LIST

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CHAPTER IV

Expansion of the British Empire

Fall of Mysore

A Muslim and a foreigner, Haidar 'Ali, rose from the rank of an ordinary soldier to the supreme position in the Hindu kingdom of Mysore. Through his vigour and resourcefulness, he raised that small obscure state to the position of a respected power. Haidar 'Ali clearly saw the dangers of foreign domination. Tipu Sultan continued his father's policy of fighting against the British. Both the father and the son failed in this struggle because odds were heavily against them. "It, however, won the father and the son the admiration and respect of posterity as champions of freedom".

Born in 1727, Haidar 'Ali was a Quraishi immigrant. He began his career as a soldier like other members of his family and rose to a high rank in the army of Mysore. The chaotic conditions in the kingdom created by the incompetence of King Chikka Krishnaraja, the misgovernment of his minister and commander-in-chief Nanjaraj and the Maratha invasions provided Haidar 'Ali with an opportunity to display his talent. Nanjaraj failed to

cope with the situation and retired. The king chose Haidar to deal with the crisis and invested him with the supreme authority in 1758. The task before Haidar was formidable. A man of determination, courage and energy, he put the finances in order, established peace, organized the administration and trained the army on the European model. But Haidar's ambitious diwan, Khande Rao, turned his rival and enemy. He formed a conspiracy to oust his patron from power and step into his place. He persuaded the king to join him. He also enlisted the help of the Maratha chief Visali Pandit. Haidar 'Ali had to fight their combined forces for two years. On a surprise attack by Khande Rao in 1760, Haidar 'Ali had to flee from Seringapatam and was then hemmed in by the Marathas. The Maratha defeat at Panipat in 1761, however, rescued him from a dangerous situation. The attention of Visali Pandit was now diverted to the north and the Maratha chief made peace with him. After this Haidar 'Ali easily disposed of his rival. Khande Rao and the king were both forced to surrender. The king was pensioned off and Khande Rao was put into prison where he died. Haidar 'Ali thus became (1761) the undisputed master of Mysore.

Haidar 'Ali consolidated his position and then turned to a career of conquest. He occupied Sira and its dependencies, and brought the petty neighbouring principalities under his control. He conquered Bednur and renamed it Haidarnagar. The acquisition of this small but rich kingdom greatly added to his resources. After several campaigns, Haidar 'Ali established his authority over the territories of Malabar in 1773. The rulers of Cochin and Kranganur were obliged to pay him a large tribute. Haidar 'Ali also took possession of Sevanur, Dhanwar, Bankapur and other smaller states on the Tungabhadra. But in this region he had to face the opposition of the Peshwa Madhava Rao, son and successor of the Peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao. The Peshwa and other Maratha chiefs looked upon these territories as falling within their own sphere of influence. They also wanted Mysore to remain weak in their own interest because the rising power of Mysore posed a check to their plundering incursions and territorial ambitions. That is why Peshwa Madhav Rao launched several campaigns against Haidar 'Ali beginning from 1764 and caused him great embarrassment. In 1765 Haidar 'Ali was defeated

by the Marathas and was forced to pay an indemnity of 28 lakhs of rupees and cede Sevanur, Gooty, Bankapur and some other territories.

The English and the Nizam also felt that their authority was endangered by the rapid rise of Mysore under Haidar 'Ali. The English dreaded Haidar 'Ali's strength as a threat to their political influence in the Carnatic. Haidar 'Ali saw the opportunity of countering English ambitions by association with the French. He supported the French in the Anglo-French War and sent military assistance to the beleagured city of Pondicherry when Count de Lally sought his help. But this help did not prove effective. In 1761 when Haidar had overcome his internal troubles, the French power had already been shattered. On their own part, the English at Madras had incited the ruler of Tanjore, Yusuf Khan, to make incursions into Mysore. Apprehending the revival of the political ambitions of the French with the support of Haidar 'Ali, they even negotiated for an alliance with Khande Rao. After the collapse of Lally's schemes, many French army chiefs, Alaim Hugal, Colonel Due May, Mons and De La Tour and a large number of the French soldiers entered Haidar 'Ali's army and he earned the reputation of being a patron of the scattered French nation in the subcontinent.

In 1766 Madhav Rao induced Nizam 'Ali of Haidarabad to join him in an offensive alliance against Haidar 'Ali. The English helped the Nizam with an auxiliary force. Before the Nizam could move, the Maratha forces fell upon Mysore and occupied Sira and some other places. Haidar 'Ali had to sue for peace. Madhav Rao accepted 33 lakhs of rupees and evacuated the territories of Mysore. Being thus outwitted by the Maratha chief, the Nizam became friendly towards Haidar. The English were isolated and confronted with the alliance of Haidar 'Ali and the Nizam. In this context, the Court of Directors censured the Madras government, "You have brought us to such a labyrinth of difficulties that we do not see how we shall be extricated from them". In August 1767 the allied forces invaded the Carnatic. The English commander at the frontier, Colonel Joseph Smith, held their advance for a time. The allies, however, entered the Carnatic by another route. A detachment of Haidar 'Ali's cavalry under Tipu Sultan advanced to St. Thomas' Mount. This frightened

the inhabitants of Madras, and the governor and members of his council ran away from the city for safety. The brilliant campaign was spoiled by Nizam 'Ali, who came to terms with the English and abandoned Haidar 'Ali. Nevertheless, Haidar 'Ali carried on the campaign. He laid waste the Carnatic and appeared within five miles of Madras. This alarmed the Madras government so much that they sent Dupre to sue for peace. Haidar 'Ali dictated his own terms on 4 April 1769. The treaty provided for mutual restitution of conquests. The English undertook to aid Haidar 'Ali, against attack by any other power. This treaty ended the first phase of the Anglo-Mysore conflict. Haidar 'Ali had thus scored a brilliant victory over the English. He was the first ruler in the subcontinent to have forced the English to sue for peace. As a result, English prestige suffered a set-back. If Haidar had continued his victorious march to Madras, the English power in the south would have been shattered. But he could not prolong the struggle because of the internal troubles created by the Nairs at the instigation of the English. The Marathas also posed a danger to the very existence of Mysore. Moreover, the Nizam had deserted and adopted a hostile attitude towards him. In these circumstances Haidar 'Ali accepted the English offer of peace and proposed generous terms in order to strengthen himself against the Marathas.

In January 1770, Madhav Rao invaded Mysore. Haidar 'Ali asked for English aid in terms of the treaty. Afraid of antagonizing the Marathas, the English did not come to his help in spite of repeated appeals. Nor did they deliver the guns and ammunition they had promised in exchange for paper and sandalwood by the commercial treaty of 1770. Haidar 'Ali had to fight the vast Maratha force unaided. He was defeated near Bangalore on 5 March 1771. The Marathas laid siege to Seringapatam and ravaged the greater part of Mysore. In this desperate situation, Haidar 'Ali concluded peace with the Marathas, agreed to pay a large sum of money and ceded valuable territories.

The insincerity of the English offended Haidar 'Ali. He was further incensed by their later activities. In 1779 they occupied the French settlement of Mahe. It was a part of Haidar 'Ali's territory through which he received military supplies and stores from the French. Moreover, the English troops marched through

his territory while taking possession of Guntur from the Nizam's brother Basalat Jang; Haidar 'Ali opposed their passage. The English also incited the Nairs and other dependent chiefs to rise in arms against him. All this forced Haidar 'Ali to look round for allies to form an anti-British alliances. He first made overtures to Nana Farnavis, the regent of the boy Peshwa Madhav Rao Narain. Nana Farnavis was irritated with the English at Bombay for their interference in the Maratha affairs and espousing the cause of Raghav, a pretender to the peshwaship. So he eagerly accepted Haidar 'Ali's offer and recognised him as the ruler of all territories up to the river Krishna (1779). Nizam 'Ali had his own grievances against the Madras government over Guntur and for their non-payment of tribute for the Northern Sarkars. He was easily induced to join the anti-British alliance. The year 1779 is a significant date. It was in this year that Mysore, the Marathas and the Nizam buried their internal differences and formed a confederacy to expel the English from the subcontinent. Haidar 'Ali alone was the architect of this alliance.

The general scheme of the allies was that the Marathas were to invade Berar and Central India, the Nizam, the Northern Sarkars and Haidar Ali, the Carnatic and the South. The coalition was formidable. Aided by the French, it threatened the very existence of the British in the subcontinent. Haidar 'Ali opened the campaign in 1780 in a brilliant manner. He swept the Carnatic like an avalanche and appeared before St. Thomas' Mount, at a distance of 9 miles from Madras. At Palur, near Conjeeveram, his son Tipu Sultan defeated the army of Colonel Baillie and forced him to sue for peace (10 September 1780). The British collapse was immediate and disastrous. A French officer in the service of Haidar 'Ali wrote that there was no example of a similar defeat in India. After this Sir Hector Munro retreated from Conjeeveram in panic. Haidar pursued him in the direction of Madras and then turned to Arcot. He captured Arcot and several other places. Tipu Sultan also seized a number of towns and forts. The situation was critical for the English. Sir Alfred Lyall observed, "The fortunes of the English had fallen to their lowest water-mark". At this time Warren Hastings took over the direction of the war. He sent Sir Eyr Coote, the victor of Wandiwash and commander-

in-chief, to the South. By diplomacy and promises, Hastings detached Nizam 'Ali from the confederacy. He also bribed the Raja of Berar, Madhoji Bhosle, to desert the alliance. The treachery of these allies was a cruel blow to Haidar 'Ali. Even then he continued the war and gained advantages. But in July 1781, Coote defeated him at Porto Novo. Tipu Sultan, however, forced Colonel Braithwaite to surrender at Annagudi in Tanjore on 18 February 1782. This destroyed the advantages gained by Coote. About this time the other Maratha chiefs, Mahadaji Sindhia and the Peshwa came to terms with the English. Though abandoned by all the allies, Haidar 'Ali continued the fight alone and maintained superiority over Coote. He died of cancer in the midst of the war in Chittur on 7 December 1782.

In assessing the results of Haidar 'Ali's campaigns, Bowring writes, "He had not indeed achieved his main object of driving the English out of Southern India. But he had overrun large tract of their country, occupied most of their principal forts and fought steadily and with success against his antagonist". Till his death, Haidar 'Ali had the initiative in war and he inflicted deep wounds on the English. If the Nizam and the Marathas had remained faithful as allies, the English power in the south, if not in the subcontinent, would have disappeared.

Tipu Sultan succeeded his father at the age of 32 and inherited the struggle against the English. He conducted the war skilfully and vigorously and forced Stuart to retreat from the vicinity of Wandiwash. The English planned attacks on Mysore on two fronts to divide his attention. The Bombay government was to attack the Malabar territory and the Madras government was to invade Mysore from the south. While Tipu Sultan was in Chittur, Brigadier Mathews entered Bednur and occupied Kundapur. Ayaz, the governor of Bednur, turned a traitor and surrendered the city to him. The English army also captured Mangalore. Tipu Sultan hurried to Bednur to retrieve the position. He defeated Mathews near Bednur and then held the English force in the town in a state of siege. Mathews was compelled to surrender with his army (1783). After the recovery of Bednur, Tipu Sultan moved towards Mangalore, defeated the English army and laid siege to the fort. At this time reached news of the cessation of hostilities between the English and the French by the Treaty of Versailles

in 1783 and Cossigny, the French general, received orders to withdraw from the conflict. Tipu Sultan was now left without an ally (23 June 1783). Even then, he continued the war.

The generals of Tipu Sultan having foiled the English attempts to enter Mysore from the south, General Fullarton adopted the policy of inciting the Rajas of Travancore and Calicut and the Malabar chiefs against Tipu Sultan. In spite of their combined efforts and intrigues, the English failed to achieve their object. On the contrary, they suffered reverses. Their army in Mangalore was reduced to a sad plight. Unable to maintain his position, Campbell delivered the fort to Tipu Sultan on 29 January 1784. The English at Madras grew anxious for peace. Tipu Sultan also needed time to attend to his domestic problems. His finances and resources had dwindled. He had also to deal with the enmity of the Marathas and the jealousy of the Nizam. So he accepted the British peace proposals and the Treaty of Mangalore was accordingly concluded on 11 March 1784 on the principle of *status quo ante*. The parties agreed to exchange their conquered territories and war prisoners. Reluctant to approve of the terms at the beginning, governor-general Warren Hastings ultimately ratified the treaty. Thus ended the Second Anglo-Mysore War from which Tipu Sultan emerged almost a victor with enhanced prestige.

The success of Tipu Sultan against the English came as a bitter disappointment to Nana Farnavis. To weaken Mysore he formed an alliance of the Maratha chiefs and the Nizam, and invaded Mysore in May 1786. Their combined battalions greatly outnumbered the forces of Tipu Sultan. Even then, they failed to obtain any advantage over him. But some of Tipu's Hindu officers proved traitors. They ceded a few districts and surrendered some cities to the adversary. Tipu Sultan, however, forced the allies to evacuate Adhoni, an important frontier fort on the Tungabhadra, and defeated the Marathas in several engagements at Sevanur, Kalkeri and Bahadur Penda. In April 1787 peace was made between the Peshwa and Tipu Sultan. The Peshwa recognized the sovereignty of Tipu Sultan over the territory situated between the Tungabhadra and the Krishna. Tipu Sultan paid 48 lakhs of rupees to the Marathas and restored Adhoni, Nargund and Kittur to their former rulers. Tipu Sultan made these concessions as he thought it prudent to keep on good terms

with the Marathas in view of the ill-concealed British hostility towards him.

The treaty of Mangalore between the English and Tipu Sultan proved to be a hollow truce. Both the parties felt that war was inevitable as the issue of supremacy in the South was still undecided. The English saw that Tipu Sultan was a formidable obstacle in the way of their establishing an empire in the subcontinent. If he were eliminated, they thought, the divided Maratha chiefs could be easily disposed of by a combination of diplomacy and arms. Tipu Sultan also found in the English a strong rival in the South. To be able to destroy their power he needed some allies. The Marathas and the Nizam were unreliable. They had given ample proof of bad faith in the Second Anglo-Mysore War. Moreover, they had their own territorial ambitions and designs on Mysore, so that Tipu Sultan was anxious for an alliance with some foreign powers. He turned to the Ottomans and France. In 1785 he sent an embassy to Constantinople, but the declining Ottoman empire was, at that time, threatened by Russia and Austria and depended heavily upon the good-will and support of England. The Sultan could not afford to antagonise the English by a treaty of alliance with Tipu Sultan. The mission failed also because the British government exerted diplomatic pressure on the Sultan.

Tipu Sultan was disappointed by the attitude of the Frenchmen in the subcontinent, because they had abandoned him in the midst of the war in 1783 and did not help him when the Marathas attacked him in 1786. Tipu Sultan sought a direct alliance with the government of France in Paris and sent an embassy to Louis XVI in 1778. The embassy was well received. The French king assured the visiting diplomat of his desires to maintain friendly relations with Tipu Sultan and allowed them to take to Mysore a French physician, a surgeon and some artists and workmen for the Sultan. But he did not accept the proposal for military alliance, because this would mean an infringement of the Treaty of Versailles, and was likely to lead to an outbreak of hostilities with England. France was also passing through a financial crisis and could not take the risk of a war.

Although an advocate of the policy of non-intervention in the affairs of the states, Cornwallis adopted a hostile attitude towards

Tipu Sultan. He started diplomatic and military preparations against the ruler of Mysore as soon as he had assumed office. His letter of 7 July 1787, addressed to the Nizam promising to hand over Balaghat, a territory situated in the dominion of Tipu Sultan and supplying him with English troops which were not to be used against powers friendly to the English, showed the working of his mind. Tipu Sultan's name was not included in the list of such friendly powers as Cornwallis wanted to precipitate the inevitable war with him. He wrote to Meadows the governor of Madras, "At present we have every prospect of aid from the country powers, whilst he (Tipu) can expect no assistance from France". Cornwallis started negotiations with the Marathas and the Nizam for an alliance against Tipu Sultan. He promised some territories in the state of Mysore to the Marathas and stirred up the cupidity of the Nizam with the bait of Bangalore. The alliance between the English, the Marathas and the Nizam was concluded in June 1790.

Tipu Sultan tried his best to prevent the Maratha chiefs and the Nizam from joining the English and persuaded them at least to remain neutral if they could not help him in the struggle against the English. But his efforts failed. Tipu Sultan also wrote several letters to Louis XVI requesting for help. As France was in the grip of the Revolution, the French king made no response. So Tipu Sultan had to fight the coalition alone.

Cornwallis intrigued with the dependent Rajas and chiefs of the kingdom of Mysore and incited them to rebel against Tipu Sultan whose attack on Travancore, an old ally of the English, was branded an act of war by the governor-general. Immediately Cornwallis declared war upon Tipu Sultan. The English and their allies invaded Mysore in May 1790 from several directions and started the Third Anglo-Mysore War. By his agility in manoeuvre Tipu Sultan successfully resisted the English for a year. Cornwallis took the command of the British armies in person, broke through Tipu Sultan's resistance, captured Bangalore, advanced towards Seringapatam and besieged the city. Tipu Sultan realised the impossibility of further resistance. The English also found that a clear victory was not yet in sight. After protracted negotiations, the Treaty of Seringapatam was signed on 24 February 1792. Tipu Sultan had to cede one-half of his kingdom to the

allies and pay a huge indemnity. He had to surrender two of his sons as hostages to the English. The English acquired Malabar, Coorg, Dindigul and Baramahal. The Marathas gained strips of territory on the north-west and the Nizam on the north-east of Mysore. As a result Mysore was cut off from the western sea and the passes leading into the Carnatic and was surrounded by the territories of the British and their allies. Tipu Sultan was hit hard. The huge indemnity proved a crushing burden for him. The Marathas devastated his country.

Even after this Tipu Sultan did not lose heart. He worked hard to repair the ravages of war. He reorganized his finances and army and built up a navy. He strengthened the fortifications of the capital and revived the prosperity of Mysore by encouraging agriculture. He wanted to break the isolation imposed upon him by Cornwallis and tried to establish contact with the Marathas and the Nizam. But they spurned his offers of friendship. In his search for allies, Tipu Sultan sent agents to the French island of Mauritius. To commemorate the French Revolution, he had a tree of liberty planted at Seringapatam. He wrote letters to Napoleon Bonaparte who was then fighting in Egypt. He appealed to the Ottoman Sultan for help. But Sultan Salim, who had his own problems only advised him to refrain from waging war upon the English.

Quick recovery of Tipu Sultan's military and financial resources, in spite of the great setback he had suffered, and his frantic efforts for finding new allies alarmed the English. Sir John Shore, who had succeeded Cornwallis, was replaced by Lord Wellesley in 1798. Great Britain was at war with Revolutionary France. Napoleon Bonaparte was in the midst of his Egyptian campaign. Wellesley feared that this distinguished French general might be tempted to attack the English in the subcontinent. He also apprehended an invasion by Zaman Shah, the Afghan ruler, in support of Tipu Sultan. Wellesley was determined to exterminate the energetic ruler of Mysore who stood as a constant menace to English supremacy in the South. He kept Tipu Sultan isolated diplomatically. He courted the Nizam's friendship and imposed the Subsidiary Alliance on him as a part of his policy of extending British supremacy over the states of the subcontinent. The Nizam dismissed his French officers and admitted four batta-

lions of the Company's troops into his state agreeing to pay a subsidy of 2 lakhs of rupees a month for their maintenance. He received the protection of the English, but lost independence of action. The Peshwa did not accept the Subsidiary Alliance, but remained friendly to the British.

Strengthened by alliance and resources, Wellesley declared war upon Tipu Sultan in February 1799. He himself directed the movement of the army and entrusted the command to General Harris. His brother, Arthur Wellesley, commanded the contingent from Haidarabad. The English generals invaded Mysore from different sides. Tipu Sultan fought bravely and displayed brilliant strategy. But his efforts were all in vain. His own generals were treacherous. He was obliged to retreat to his capital, Seringapatam. The British forces advanced and laid siege on 17 April. They battered the defences and made breaches in the walls. Helped by some traitors, the invaders stormed the ramparts and the breach. Tipu Sultan was informed of this attack when he was taking his meal. He hastened to the place immediately. But the enemy had occupied all positions of vantage. In his valiant fight to stem the tide of the English hordes, the Sultan received fatal wounds and met a hero's death on 4 May 1799.

The British commemorated the death of Tipu Sultan by thanksgiving in the churches. The Company's servants were handsomely rewarded and Wellesley himself was made a Marquis for destroying a formidable rival of the English. Wellesley annexed the larger portion of Mysore to the British dominion and gave a small slice of the conquered territory to a representative of the former Hindu ruling family of the state and another to the Nizam. The sons of Tipu Sultan were exiled. With the end of the Sultan, the English became the paramount power in the subcontinent.

Haidar 'Ali and Tipu Sultan fought against the establishment of the English supremacy in the South. They failed primarily because of the treachery of the Marathas and the Nizam. Haidar 'Ali formed an alliance with them twice, and on both occasions they betrayed him in the midst of fighting. Even then he scored brilliant victories over the English. In regret Haidar 'Ali is reported to have said, "I ought to have reflected that no man of common sense will trust a Maratha, and they themselves do not expect to be trusted". Tipu Sultan had to fight an unequal

battle against the combined forces of the English, the Marathas and the Nizam. In the words of an English historian, "Had the Maratha chieftains ... possessed Tipu's singleness of purpose and all-consuming hate, the final advance of British supremacy might have been long delayed".

Haidarabad and Carnatic

The state of Haidarabad was founded in the days of the decline of the Mughul Empire. Convinced that the dissolution of the empire could not be prevented on account of the incompetence of the Emperor and the intrigues of the courtiers, the distinguished statesman Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah, Subahdar of the Deccan, thought of saving what he himself could save of the Muslim possessions. So he consolidated his rule in the province of the Deccan and made Haidarabad his capital. Asaf Jah kept the Maratha raiders at bay and governed the province efficiently. He died in 1748 leaving a dynasty to rule over Haidarabad. His successors bore the title of Nizam and ruled practically as independent subahdars. Theoretically, the Emperor was the suzerain of the Nizam and the Nizam as subahdar was the suzerain of the Marathas. The Carnatic was a province under the subahdar of the Deccan. It was ruled by a governor. The Nawab of Carnatic behaved as an independent ruler and owed only nominal allegiance to the Nizam. The growth of English influence in the Carnatic has already been noted. Muhammad 'Ali, who became Nawab with the English support, was merely a puppet in their hands. He lived extravagantly and borrowed money from the English at exorbitant rates of interest. As a result, the Nawab incurred a huge debt and the English money lenders sucked the resources of the Carnatic. Muhammad 'Ali died in 1795. His son and successor continued to depend upon the English. On his death in 1801, Wellesley assumed the administration of the Carnatic. The new Nawab was paid one fifth of the revenue of the province as pension. In 1853 Lord Dalhousie declared the state to have lapsed to the Company's dominions.

In order to establish political influence in Haidarabad, the French and the English took sides in the succession dispute that broke out after the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah. In the first phase of the Anglo-French struggle, the French succeeded

in realizing their objectives. In the later phase, however, the English defeated the French and in 1758 occupied the Northern Sarkars, a territory belonging to the Nizam and extending for about six hundred miles along the coast north of the Carnatic and south of Orissa. Salabat Jang, the French protege, came to terms with the English and pledged to have no more dealings with the French. He was deposed by his brother Nizam 'Ali in 1761. In 1765 Clive procured a *farman* from the Emperor giving formal sanction to the English occupation of the Northern Sarkars. Nizam 'Ali entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the English at Madras in 1766 in his anxiety to protect his territory against the Marathas and Haidar 'Ali. He joined the anti-British alliance of Haidar 'Ali, but abandoned it in the midst of the campaign and concluded a separate treaty with the English at Masulipatam in February 1768. The English were to pay a tribute of seven lakhs of rupees to the Nizam for the possession of the Northern Sarkars. The Sarkar of Guntur was given to the Nizam's brother, Basalat Jang, for life. In 1779, the Madras government brought Guntur under its direct administration and proposed to stop the payment of tribute to the Nizam. This irritated Nizam 'Ali and he joined the anti-British alliance with Haidar 'Ali and the Marathas. Warren Hastings, however, returned Guntur and induced him to desert the alliance.

After the death of Basalat Jang in 1782, the Nizam agreed to cede the Sarkar of Guntur to the English. In return the English promised to help him in recovering some areas formerly belonging to Haidarabad which Tipu Sultan had seized. Lord Cornwallis persuaded Nizam 'Ali to accept the support of the English troops and join the confederacy against Tipu Sultan. The Treaty of Mangalore which ended the Third Mysore War in 1792 gave the Nizam a slice of Mysore on the north-east. In 1795 the Marathas attacked Haidarabad. Fearing the consequences of an all-out war with the Maratha confederacy, the governor-general, Sir John Shore, refused to intervene. The Nizam was defeated and forced to submit to a humiliating peace. Disillusioned with the English, Nizam 'Ali turned to the French and engaged French officers to train his army.

Wellesley, who aimed at making the English the paramount power in the subcontinent, resolved to crush the French influence

in the princely courts and to destroy Tipu Sultan. With these ends in view, he devised the system of Subsidiary Alliance which subordinated the allied state to British control in return of protection. The state joining the system was to maintain a contingent of English troops and expel officers belonging to nationalities other than English. The English, in return, guaranteed the territorial integrity of the state against internal rebellion and outside attack. In September 1798 Wellesley persuaded the Nizam to enter into a Subsidiary treaty with the British. The French officers of the Nizam had to leave Haidarabad and were replaced by an English contingent By a defensive alliance in 1800, the strength of the Subsidiary force stationed in Haidarabad was increased. For its maintenance the Nizam gave to the English the territories he had obtained from Mysore in 1792 and 1798. He agreed not to enter into political relations with any other power without the permission of the English.

Wellesley induced Peshwa Baji Rao II, the titular chief of the Marathas, to enter into a Subsidiary Alliance by the Treaty of Bassein in December 1802. The Maratha chief interpreted it as a national humiliation and took up arms against the English. But they were defeated. The Bhosla Raja of Berar and the Sindhia of Gwalior were made to accept the Subsidiary Alliance in 1804. The Bhosla ceded Cuttack to the British. As an ally the Nizam gained Berar from the British which remained in his possession till 1853. On account of the Nizam's irregularity in the payment of the stipulated sum for the maintenance of British troops, Dalhousie took over Berar in lieu of the subsidy.

The Marathas and the English

Emperor Aurangzib 'Alamgir occupied most of the Maratha forts and territories in the course of his Deccan campaigns. But losses of territories and homes did not destroy the Marathas. They retreated into hills and jungles with their families and flocks and took to robbery and plundering. J.N. Sarkar rightly observes that the Marathas were as 'elusive as the wind, without any headman or stronghold whose capture would naturally result in the extinction of their power'. The incompetence of the Mughul generals, the intrigues at the imperial court and the narrow-minded selfishness of the nobles of the weak successors of 'Alamgir

enabled the Marathas to attempt a revival of their power. Under able Peshwas (nominally prime ministers but actually rulers) the Marathas recovered rapidly. Their influence spread in the Deccan. They acquired Malwa, secured a foothold in Gujarat and occupied the Panjab. The capture of the Panjab, which had recently been conquered by Ahmad Shah Abdali, led them into conflict with that Afghan ruler. The Battle of Panipat in 1761 which followed was a national catastrophe for the Marathas. The Muslims could have taken advantage of this great setback to the Marathas to revive their own power. But they were too much absorbed in intrigues and promotion of selfish advantages to think in terms of national interests. The staggering blow of the Battle of Panipat weakened the Marathas, checked their expansion in the North and indirectly benefited the English who did not have to fight the Marathas in the North in their struggle for political supremacy.

The Marathas were divided into several independent dynasties: the Peshwas in Poona, Sindhias in Gwalior, Holkars in Indore, Gaikwars in Baroda and the Bhonslas in Nagpur and Berar. The Peshwa was recognised as their leader. Within a few years the Marathas under the leadership of Peshwa Madhav Rao recovered from their defeat and in 1769 raided Rohilkhand through Rajputana. In 1771 the Marathas helped Emperor Shah 'Alam II in giving up the protection of the English. Mahadaji Sindhia escorted him to Delhi in return for a large sum of money. The Maratha influence in the North posed a threat to the English dominion in Bihar and Bengal. To avert this Warren Hastings had concluded the Treaty of Banaras in 1773 with the Nawab-Wazir of Awadh. The clash between the British and the Marathas actually started in the South.

The Marathas, Mysore under Haidar 'Ali and Haidarabad were three notable powers in the sixties of the eighteenth century, Haidarabad being the weakest of the three. Haidar 'Ali and the Marathas, at loggerheads with each other for supremacy over the South, dominated the scene. The English, who had established their political influence in the Carnatic and built their power in Bengal and Bihar, also aimed at the extension of their authority in that part of the subcontinent. For this, they intrigued to break the alliances between the local rulers, isolated them

from one another and then struck at them one by one. Their dealings with Haidar 'Ali and Tipu Sultan showed how they played this game. The divisions and dissensions of the Marathas provided them with another opportunity for political manoeuvring. The dispute for succession after the death of Peshwa Madhav Rao in 1772 became the occasion for intervention. Narain Rao succeeded the deceased Peshwa, but his claim was contested by Raghava, an elder member of the family. Narain Rao was murdered. A strong party, headed by Nana Farnavis, took up the cause of Narain Rao's posthumous son. Finding himself in difficulties, Raghava approached the English at Bombay for help. The English seized this opportunity eagerly. By the Treaty of Surat signed in March 1775, they promised help to Raghava in return for the territories of Salsette and Bassein. The English troops occupied Salsette and defeated the Marathas at Arras. Warren Hastings disapproved the action of the Bombay government; yet he wanted to continue the adventure. But his council overruled him and concluded the Treaty of Purandar with the Peshwa's regent, Nana Farnavis, in 1776. The English retained Salsette and abandoned Raghava.

The Bombay government renewed the war in favour of Raghava in 1779 on the plea that Nana Farnavis had employed a French officer in his army. The English army was severely beaten and forced to conclude the humiliating convention of Wadgaon. Hastings repudiated this convention and continued the war. Colonel Goddard captured Ahmedabad and Bassein, but was beaten back while advancing on Poona (1781). Major Popham captured Sindhia's capital, Gwalior. Mahadaji Sindhia was defeated at Sipri by General Camac and he opened negotiations for peace. At the time the English were also at war with Haidar 'Ali. So the governor-general accepted the proposal. The Treaty of Salbai made in May 1782 ended this First Anglo-Maratha War. It confirmed the English possession of Salsette and recognised Madhav Rao Narain as Peshwa. Raghava was pensioned off. The Marathas deserted Haidar 'Ali who stood isolated and had to fight alone against the English while the Marathas were ready to stab him in the back.

Cornwallis induced the Nizam and the Marathas to join the English alliance against Mysore in 1790. The Maratha chiefs

helped the English and acquired a slice of Mysore by the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1792. After taking over the larger part of Mysore, the Company emerged as the dominating power in the South. This caused uneasiness among the Marathas. Moreover, the protection extended to the Nizam by the Subsidiary Alliance deprived the Marathas of a rich target of their plundering incursions. After the end of Tipu Sultan, Wellesley planned to shatter the Maratha strength by breaking up the Maratha confederacy and dealing with each Maratha state separately. Their internal dissensions favoured his designs. After the death of the shrewd statesman Nana Farnavis in 1800, there was no prudent leader among the Marathas who could keep them united. Both Daulat Rao Sindhia and Jaswant Rao Holkar wanted to control the Peshwa Baji Rao II. Harassed by their conflict the Peshwa took refuge at Bassein and appealed for protection to the British. Wellesley availed himself of this opportunity to impose the Subsidiary Alliance on Baji Rao II by the Treaty of Bassein concluded in December 1802. The British troops reinstated the Peshwa at Poona in May 1803. The Maratha chiefs, Sindhia, Bhonsla and others looked upon the acceptance of the Subsidiary Alliance by the Peshwa, their titular superior, as national disgrace. Baji Rao II repented his action and established secret contacts with the Maratha chiefs.

Sindhia and Holkar moved their troops against the British. Lord Wellesley promptly declared war against them in August 1803 and opened the campaign on two fronts. On the Deccan front, Arthur Wellesley defeated the forces of the Bhonsla and the Sindhia at Assaye and Argon. This broke the power of the Bhonsla who came to terms by ceding Cuttuck to the British and accepting the Subsidiary Alliance by the Treaty of Deogaon. In the north, General Lake defeated Sindhia's army fighting under the French general, Perron, near Delhi and captured Aligarh, Delhi and Agra and took Emperor Shah 'Alam under English protection. The Sindhia's troops were again defeated at Laswari in the Alwar state. This forced the Sindhia to conclude the Treaty of Surji Arjangaon in December 1803. He submitted to the Subsidiary Alliance and surrendered Broach, Ahmadnagar, and the Gangetic Doab including Delhi and Agra to the English. Rajputana came under the English sphere of influence. Holkar,

who had so far kept aloof, commenced hostilities in April 1804. He opened his compaign in a brilliant manner. Near Kotah in Rajputana, he compelled the English troops under Monson to retreat to Agra. He then laid siege to Delhi, which was, however, successfully defended by Ochterlony. General Lake routed detachments of Holkar's forces and had to advance against the Raja of Bharatpur who turned hostile to the British. The British troops suffered a serious set-back as they failed to capture the fortress of Bharatpur in 1805. This broke the legend of British invincibility. The Raja of Bharatpur concluded a treaty with Lake in April 1805, re-entered into an alliance with the British and paid an indemnity of 20 lakhs of rupees. The Holkar continued the war-path.

The political enemies of Wellesley clamoured at the reverses of the English arms and compelled the British government to recall the governor-general. Lord Cornwallis was sent as governor-general a second time. Wellesley sailed for England in August 1805. Cornwallis died in the following October. His successor, Sir John Barlow, followed a policy of placating the Marathas. He revised the Treaty of Surji Arjangaon with Sindhia and restored to him Gwalior and Gohad. The northern boundary of his dominions was fixed at the river Chambal. Holkar, who had been pursued by Lake up to Amritsar, was forced to sue for peace. By a treaty made in January 1806 he gave up his claims to Bundelkhand and other territories north of the Chambal and was allowed a free hand in Rajputana.

Wellesley's policy and the Second Maratha War established British supremacy in the subcontinent. The Maratha power was shattered. The British became undisputed masters of vast territories from Bengal to Agra and Delhi.

Barlow's successor Lord Minto (1807-1813) followed the policy of non-intervention. As a matter of fact, there was no occasion for intervention. Minto's successor Lord Hastings had to revise this policy in the light of the latest situation. He organized campaigns in 1814 to meet the raids of the Gurkhas of Nepal. The Gurkhas fought gallantly, but they were severely defeated in the end. General Ochterlony advanced towards Khatmandu, the capital of Nepal (1816). The King of Nepal surrendered the districts of Sikkim, Terai, Garhwal and Kumaon to

the English and admitted a British advisor to his court. As a result of these acquisitions, the north-west frontier of the British dominions reached the mountains and the Company's government came into the possession of important hill stations like Simla, Mussorie, Almora, Nainital, etc.

On account of the humiliations and losses suffered in the Second Anglo-Maratha War, the Maratha chiefs were hostile to the British. Sindhia was secretly encouraging the Afghan chief Amir Khan, the Pindari leader in raiding and plundering the areas under British control. In 1815 his minister Trimbakji murdered the Gaikwar's envoy who visited Poona under British safe conduct. The Peshwa was suspected of complicity in the murder. In 1817, he was forced to sign a new Subsidiary treaty by which he renounced the headship of the Maratha confederacy, but he rose in rebellion and set fire to the British Residency. Apa Sahib Bhonsla and Holkar also declared war against the English. Apa Sahib was defeated by the English at Sitabaldi and forced to surrender. Holkar' troops were practically annihilated at Mahidpur. The Peshwa's general Bapu Gokla was defeated and killed at Ashti. Baji Rao suffered another defeat at Karegaon and the fortress of Asirgarh fell in 1819. Baji Rao surrendered to the English. His dominion was annexed and he was given a pension of eight lakh of rupees a year. The office of Peshwa was abolished and a descendant of Shivaji was placed on the throne of Sitara, the small principality which was specially carved for him. Apa Sahib lost his throne which went to a new Raja. The Narbada territories of the Bhonsla were annexed. By a Subsidiary treaty Holkar ceded a part of his territory and gave up his claims on Rajputana. As a result of the Third Anglo-Maratha War, the Maratha power was broken irretrievably and the British paramountcy over this subcontinent was further strengthened. The Pindaris were suppressed. The Rajput states, which had been under the influence of Sindhia and other Maratha rulers, acknowledged the suzerainty of the British by concluding Subsidiary treaties.

The Marathas collapsed under the weight of their own misrule. Their polity "was conceived in anarchy, born in war and nurtured in conflict". They rose to power as robbers and plunderers and continued to behave in the same way. They cared little for regular

administration, peace and order and welfare of the people. Their state was built on plunder and maintained on plunder. They plundered the Bengalis, Rajputs, Muslims, Hindus and others indiscriminately. The Maratha rule was detested by all. Being Hindus, they could have won the sympathies of their co-religionists, but the Marathas proved a terror for the Hindus as well. They, as much as others, 'equally welcomed deliverance from Maratha hands'. "The instinct to plunder was the internal defect as the failure to combine was later the external defect of the Maratha system". A state based on plunder is both politically and financially structureless. It could subsist against the weaker states. But in a long conflict with a stronger power its collapse was inevitable. Moreover, in the absence of a regular central authority the Maratha confederacy had degenerated into a house of internal conflicts and confusions. This afforded opportunities to the British to isolate and weaken them further and then finally to destroy them.

Added to these was the inferiority of the Maratha military tactics as compared to those of the British. The Marathas emerged as a power through guerilla warfare. They always remained deficient in the art of fighting in the open. They had a bitter experience of regular warfare in the Third Battle of Panipat. Some of the Maratha chiefs tried to adopt European techniques of warfare but achieved little success. The Maratha soldiers failed to acquire the new techniques and proved incapable of fighting the well-disciplined European forces. Holkar, who adhered to the old methods of warfare, had fared better. In fact, the Marathas were free-booters rather than soldiers. Referring to the Maratha army, Sir Thomas Munro observed that "its discipline, its arms, and uniform clothing, I regard merely as the means of dressing it out for the sacrifice".

Fall of Sind

Sind, formerly a province of the Mughul Empire, became independent under its subahdar—a Kalhora—four years after 'Alamgir's death. About the year 1783, the Talpurs of the Baluchi tribe, who had distinguished themsleves in the service of the Kalhoras and attained to important positions in the administration, overthrew the reigning family and assumed control of the

province. The Talpurs divided the territory of Sind among three branches of their family—Upper Sind (Khairpur), Lower Sind (Haidarabad) and Mirpur, whose rulers formed a confederacy. Each of these bore the title of Amir (also called Mir). Sind enjoyed a spell of peace and prosperity under the benevolent rule of the Mirs.

The English were allowed to carry on their trade in Sind in 1635 in the reign of Shah Jahan. The relations of the English with Sind passed through three stages—commercial, commercial-cum-political and political. In the beginning they established a factory at Thatta, the chief trading centre of the province. They abandoned the factory in 1662 as trade was not found profitable. They re-opened it in 1758, and closed it again in 1775. In the later years of the eighteenth century the English revived their unprofitable trade for political considerations. The resumption of trade was designed to counteract the schemes of the Afghan ruler Zaman Shah, the Mysore ruler Tipu Sultan, and the French general Napoleon, against the English. The Talpurs allowed the English to open factories at Karachi and Thatta and a political agency at the former place in 1799. The small volume of trade filled the Amirs with suspicions about the intentions of the Company. So the British agency and factories had to be closed in 1800.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century the Russian advance in Central Asia became a nightmare for the British and moulded their policy towards the north-west frontier. They saw the strategic and military importance of Sind and the Indus. The easiest passes through the mountain barrier were approachable from Sind. Its occupation would facilitate the movement of troops on the frontier. So in 1809 Lord Minto entered into a treaty of "eternal" friendship with the Talpur Mirs. Later on the more powerful party reduced the Mirs to a state of subordination by forcing them to accept new treaties. In 1839 Lord Auckland compelled them to give passage, and supply provisions and transport to British troops for a campaign in Afghanistan. They were afraid of the Sikhs in the north and, therefore, tolerated pressure in return for a promise of help in case of an invasion. Though they were thus bullied and fleeced, the Mirs did not cause any trouble to the English even at the

time of their reverses in Baluchistan and their great disaster in Afghanistan. Yet the headstrong governor-general, Lord Ellenborough, and his audacious general, Charles Napier, who were bent upon annexing Sind, brought false charges of hostility and demanded from them the acceptance of a humiliating treaty, entailing cession of territories and inscription of Queen Victoria's image on their coins. Even though they were prepared to submit to these indignities, Napier began to provoke them in various ways in order to get a pretext for destroying them. He made an unprovoked attack on Imamgarh in January 1843, and destroyed its fort. As his commissioner advised against this aggressive policy, Napier was irritated and wrote, "Outram provokes me, he pities these scoundrels who are such atrocious tyrants that it is virtuous to roll them like—nine pins". In Outram's words, Napier's action drove the Amirs 'to the measures of self-defence which were afterwards assumed as a ground for aggression'.

Driven to desperation, the Mirs had to take up arms in defence of their honour. Napier forced them to fight before they were united and prepared. He also sowed dissensions among them. With the promise of the *gaddi* of Khairpur, he induced 'Ali Murad to join the British against his brother Mir Rustam Khan. Nasir Khan, Amir of Haidarabad, and Rustam Khan, Amir of Khairpur, fought a battle with their irregular forces against Napier at Miani, a few miles from Haidarabad on 17 February 1843. Napier defeated them. The Amirs surrendered to the victor, who occupied Haidarabad and plundered their treasures and properties. Napier then defeated Sher Muhammad, Mir of Mirpur, at Duba, 10 miles from Haidarabad, and occupied his capital in March 1843. Sind thus fell into the possession of the English. As a reward for his treachery 'Ali Murad was placed as a vassal prince upon the *masnad* of Khairpur.

It is to be noted that the treachery of 'Ali Murad largely accounted for the failure of the Mirs. The Hindu intrigues with the English against Muslim rule were also a substantial cause of the fall of Sind. Under the rule of the Talpurs, the Hindus prospered in trade and industry and they occupied responsible offices under the government. Even then, they remained hostile to Muslim rule and took advantage of their positions to enter into conspiracies with the English, a fact proved by English records.

Outram observed that the Hindus, though well off and generously treated, wanted British rule in a country essentially Muslim. They acted as informers and agents of the British. Napier himself says that the Hindus of Sind had been treated with tolerance for ages. They manned the staff of the revenue administration from the lowest to the highest positions. The Hindu attitude has been well expressed by William Napier who writes, "The money-seeking Hindu goes about all eyes, and with fingers supple as his conscience, robbing everybody by subtlety ... To him the conquest must be as a feast and a blessing of grace."

Napier justified his unprovoked aggression on the plea that British rule would deliver the people from the oppression of the Mirs. The writings of some Englishmen who had known contemporary Sind, however, show that this province enjoyed peace and prosperity under the mild rule of the Mirs. Mason, who visited Sind about 1840, wrote, "I could not help being impressed with a favourable opinion of the peasantry. Everywhere they seem to be contented, orderly and a hospitable race". Outram also spoke eloquently of the popularity of the Mirs among their subjects. He wrote, "Until we entered Sind, I verily believe that all classes in the country were as happy as those under any government in Asia...and undoubtedly our coming here has been the cause of much misrule".

In fact, Napier wanted war and prepared a case for it. Ellenborough wanted Sind; he accepted the case and gave the general a free hand to realize his ambition. The annexation of Sind was an attempt to build up British prestige which had been badly shattered by the humiliating British defeat in Afghanistan. So the British conquest of Sind from the innocent and friendly Amirs resembled, in the words of Mountstuart Elphinstone, "the conduct of a bully, who having been kicked down in a street row, goes home and beats his wife in revenge".

Annexation of the Panjab

The Sikhs who originated as a religious order with Guru Nanak (1469-1538) developed into a military community in the time of 'Alamgir. In the period of the decline of the Mughul empire they tried, without success, to establish an independent state in the Panjab. After the Third Battle of Panipat, some

Sikh Chiefs, however, imperceptibly established their sway in certain areas of the province, taking advantage of the absence of its rulers in Kabul. Zaman Shah, a successor of Ahmad Shah Abdali, appointed Ranjit Singh, the son of a Sikh chief, as governor of Lahore in recognition of his services in 1799. Ranjit, who was an energetic and ambitious young man, soon made himself master of the Panjab and gave up his allegiance to the Afghan ruler (1801). He also seized Kashmir from his suzerain, and thus set up a strong Sikh kingdom in the north-west.

Ranjit Singh maintained friendly relations with the British and helped their Afghan campaign in 1839. He died in the same year, and there was a dispute about the succession and, consequently, confusion in the Sikh kingdom. His army placed his minor son Dalip Singh on the throne and assumed a dominant role in the government. The British disaster in Afghanistan encouraged the Sikhs to attack British territories in 1845. They were, however, defeated at Mudki, Ferozshah and Aliwal. The British troops entered Lahore and forced the Sikhs to enter into a treaty by which they ceded the Jullundhur Doab and paid a huge indemnity. They also gave up Kashmir, which the English sold for 75 lakhs of rupees to Gulab Singh, the founder of the Dogra dynasty. An English Resident was attached to the Sikh court to supervise the government of the minor Raja Dalip Singh. The Khalsa army was disbanded and a British army was stationed at Lahore.

Smarting under the defeat they had sustained, the Sikh chiefs were resentful at the continuous interference of the British Resident in the administration. The Sikh governor of Multan rebelled in 1848 and killed two British officers. Within a short time there was a general rising of the Sikhs. After some initial reverses, the British commander-in-chief, Sir Hugh Gough, obtained a decisive victory at Gujrat (1849). The Sikhs were pursued up to the Afghan frontier and Peshawar was occupied by the British. On 30 March 1849, Lord Dalhousie proclaimed the annexation of the Panjab.

Annexation of Awadh

The British relations with Awadh began with the battle of Buxar in 1764. In that war Shuja'-ud daulah and Shah 'Alam II fought against the English as allies of Mir Qasim. The battle was bitterly contested. The defeat was caused by the treachery of

Shuja'-ud-daulah's own minister, generals and chiefs. Beni Bahadur, the na'ib or the chief minister of the Nawab-Wazir, had secretly revealed the plan of his master's movements to the British. Asad Khan, a general, openly went over to the other side before the battle. Balwant Singh, Raja of Banaras, allowed the British army to lead an attack on Shuja'-ud-daulah's forces through his own outpost. Beni Bahadur stood as a spectator in the battle-field. Harper admits, "The chance was more than once against us, and I am of the opinion that the sepoys would not have been able to stand the cannonade five minutes longer than they did". Shuja'-ud-daulah attempted to prevent the English from entering his territories, but he failed. He tried to enlist the support of the Rohilla chief, Hafiz Rahmat Khan, the Bangash ruler of Farrukhabad and Najib-ud-daulah against the English. None of them responded to his call. Malhar Rao Holkar, however, made an alliance with him. But the Marathas lost heart and decamped after an engagement with the English forces at Kara in May 1765 with the result that the English army occupied most of the territories of Awadh.

Unable to form a strong alliance against the English to dislodge them from his dominions, Shuja'-ud-daulah submitted to a humiliating treaty on 16 August 1765. Under this agreement, he had to pay an indemnity of fifty lakhs of rupees and cede the districts of Kara and Allahabad to the English who gave these to Shah 'Alam II and received the *diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in return. He also entered into a defensive allliance with the East India Company. The Company engaged to provide him with troops for the defence of his frontiers, and he promised to meet the cost of maintaining them. Awadh was practically under military occupation after the battle of buxar; Clive could have annexed the province, but he avoided the risk involved in the measure as the resources of the Company were inadequate for the assumption of such a responsibility. Moreover, it would have brought the Company into conflict with the Marathas at the frontier. Clive thought it more expedient to constitute Awadh into a buffer state by binding Shuja'-ud-daulah in an alliance. Warren Hastings continued Clive's policy and strengthened the alliance with Shuja'-ud-daulah by the Treaty of Banaras concluded in 1773. He took away Kara and Allahabad from Shah 'Alam II, who had

left British protection and sold these to the Nawab-Wazir for fifty lakhs of rupees. It was agreed that the Company would lend troops when required to the Nawab-Wazir on payment of a subsidy. It was under this arrangement that Warren Hastings lent troops to the Nawab for the conquest of Rohilkhand in 1774. The Treaty of Banaras gave an opportunity to the British to establish their political influence at the court of Awadh. In 1797, after the death of Nawab Asaf-ud-daulah, the governor-general Sir John Shore interfered in the succession. Asaf-ud-daulah's successor Mirza Wazir Ali Khan was deposed and Sa'adat 'Ali Khan, a brother of the late Nawab and a nominee of the British, was placed on the throne. The new Nawab concluded a new treaty with the Company which put the responsibility for defence on the Company in return for an annual subsidy of seventy-six lakhs of rupees and the cession of the fort of Allahabad. The Nawab was not to communicate with any foreign state. Further indignities were in store for the Nawab. Wellesley planned to bring Awadh definitely under British control for the effective security of the north-west frontier of the British dominion. Sa'dat 'Ali was forced to submit to a Subsidiary treaty in November 1800 and had to cede Rohilkhand and the Doab to the English for the maintenance of Subsidiary troops.

Henceforth British influence steadily increased at the court of Lucknow. The British interfered with every succession and dictated policies. The Nawabs remained loyal and friendly throughout. Yet Dalhousie resolved to annex Awadh on the plea of the Nawab's misgovernment. The deterioration of the administration, which had a high standard of efficiency before the British established their virtual control, was the result of the constant interference and intrigues of the British agents at Lucknow. The British Resident favoured the succession of old and incapable candidates to the throne and prevented the Nawabs from improving their government and made it impossible for the Nawab's government to function smoothly. In fact, the British coveted the fertile land of Awadh, and charges of misgovernment were a mere pretext for its annexation.

On 7 February 1856, Dalhousie, by a declaration, annexed Awadh and Wajid 'Ali Shah was sent away to Calcutta as the governor-general apprehended a rising of the people. The dynasty's

popularity was demonstrated in the great rising of 1857 when the people revolted against their so-called liberators in an attempt to restore the rule of the dynasty.

Minor States

British influence was extended to Tanjore, a petty Maratha state, before the commencement of the Anglo-French conflict in 1748. The Company obtained a port at the mouth of the Coleroon river in return for their support to a claimant to the throne. Subsequently, the Raja fought as an ally of the Company in the Carnatic wars. The Madras government deposed its ruler in 1773. Taking advantage of a dispute regarding succession, Lord Wellesley persuaded its ruler in October 1799 to conclude a Subsidiary treaty by which the Raja practically resigned his right to rule in return for a pension. In 1855 the Raja died leaving only daughters. Lord Dalhousie promptly discontinued the title and the pension of his heirs.

The principality of Surat also met with a similar fate at the hands of the British rulers. In 1759, the Mughul Emperor entrusted the responsibility for the defence of Surat to the British while its Nawab retained control over the civil administration. Under Wellesley, the Nawab was unable to pay the expenses of the English garrison stationed at Surat. So when he died in January 1799, Wellesley forced his brother and successor to hand over the entire administration of Surat to the Company (March 1800).

Some acquisitions to the Company's dominions had already been made during the governor-generalship of Lord William Bentinck. The Raja of Mysore was found incompetent and vicious, the administration of the state was taken over by the governor-general in 1831. In 1834 William Bentinck deposed the Raja of Coorg who had come under British control after the Third Anglo-Mysore War on account of his alleged cruelty to the subjects and annexed the state.

Lord Dalhousie annexed a number of states by an extensive application of the Doctrine of Lapse under which a state was taken up if the ruler died without a male issue. Adoption was not permitted. The states annexed under this head were Satara, Jitpur, Sambalpur, Baghat, Udaipur, Jhansi and Nagpur. Of these Satara was created by Lord Hastings and given over to a

representative of the house of Shivaji after the overthrow of the Peshwa in 1818. It was annexed in 1848. Jhansi, a dependency of the Peshwa in Bundelkhand, had passed under British paramountcy after the Anglo-Maratha Wars. Its Raja died in 1853. The state was annexed and the widowed Rani was given a pension. About this time also died the Bhonsla Raja of the protected state of Nagpur without leaving an issue. Consequently, this fairly big state passed into the Company's hands (1854). Baghat, a cis-Sutlaj hill state, and Udaipur were annexed by Dalhousie in 1850 and 1852, respectively. These were restored by Lord Canning to their old royal families afterwards. In the case of titles and pensions also, Dalhousie applied the Doctrine of Lapse. On the death of Peshwa Baji Rao, in 1853, pension was refused to his adopted son Nana Sahib. Dalhousie also proposed to abolish the titular sovereignty of the Mughul Emperor; but he was overruled by authorities at home. His policy of annexing dependent states and discontinuing pensions and titles caused much unrest throughout the subcontinent.

During the governor-generalship of Dalhousie the extensive territories of Burma were added to the Company's dominion. As a result of the First Burmese War, Lord Amherst forced the king of Ava to cede Arakan and Tenasserim to the British, withdraw from Assam and Kachar and to recognise the independence of Manipur by the Treaty of Yandaboo in 1826. Thus Assam, Manipur and Kachar became British protectorates. The Second Burmese War broke out in 1852. Dalhousie conducted operations with vigour and completed the conquest of the Lower Burma.

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CHAPTER V

Administration under the Company

The East India Company was an association of traders and its main purpose was to make profits through trade. The political success of the Company was also used for the exploitation of a helpless market. After the establishment of its political supremacy in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, it avoided administrative responsibilities and extracted wide trade concessions from the puppet Nawab. Its servants wielded considerable political influence in the province and grew fabulously rich through private trade. The grant of *diwani* proved to be a lucrative business. The Double Government that ensued ruined the people. This system of government based upon power without responsibility resulted in unbridled corruption among the Company's servants and began to affect its own commercial interests adversely. Therefore the Company assumed administrative responsibilities in 1772 and came out as the ruler of the province.

The central office of the Company was located in London, and its authority was exercised, in the earlier years, by two bodies, the Court of Proprietors and the Court of Directors. The

former was the general body of share-holders and the latter was its executive committee consisting of 24 elected members, whose number was reduced to 18 in 1854; of these 6 were to be nominated by the Crown. Till the passage of Pitt's India Act of 1784, the Court of Proprietors was the highest authority in the Company and its approval was required for every important measure recommended by the Court of Directors. The Act of 1784 rendered this body practically ineffective. The Directors directed and controlled the affairs of the Company. They had large patronage in their hands as all appointments were made by them. The appointments of governor-general, governors and commander-in-chief, however, required the approval of the Government.

The commercial operations of the East India Company were centralized at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. These were known as presidencies and their rulers were directly responsible to the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors in London. This arrangement continued up to the enactment of the Regulating Act of 1773. The British authority in the subcontinent 'began by being separate and only slowly became united'. This was rather unusual as all empires in the subcontinent had begun with one 'controlling head who devolved power as he extended and established his dominion'. The Company did not have one central authority in the subcontinent. Each Presidency was independent of others. Each one of them was ruled over by a president or governor and council who exercised contol over the affairs and servants of the company within the territorial limits of the presidency.

The profit-making character of the Company, lack of any share of responsibility by the Home Government, absence of a supervisory authority in the subcontinent and avoidance of responsibility on the part of the Company while exercising power in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa accounted for much of its internal confusion as well as rampant corruption and misrule in its dominions. On account of mismanagement the Company was incurring heavy losses, while its ordinary servants were returning home with large fortunes. Faced with a financial crisis, it petitioned for a huge loan to the Home Government which thought it necessary to regulate its affairs and put its administration on an orderly basis.

The result was the Regulating Act of 1773. This law aimed at introducing the supervision of the British Government over the Company and establishing a co-ordinating authority for its affairs in the subcontinent. Moreover, it required the Court of Directors to submit all important despatches received from Calcutta to the British cabinet. It gave the governor of Bengal the title of governor-general of Bengal and the power of supervision over the governments of Bombay and Madras. A council of four members was appointed to assist him in the task of administration. A supreme court was set up at Calcutta. Apart from judicial functions, it was vested with the power of sanctioning ordinances proposed by the governor-general-in-council. The Act suffered from serious drawbacks. "It created a governor-general who was powerless before his own council and an executive that was powerless before the supreme court". It did not give definite control to the governor-general-in-council over other presidencies, nor did it vest in the British cabinet a definite control over the Company.

To remove these defects the British Parliament passed Pitt's India Act in 1784 creating a governing committee, known as the Board of Control, to supervise and control the actions of the Court of Directors. The strength of the governor-general's council was reduced to three and he was allowed a casting vote. The Bombay and Madras presidencies were definitely subordinated to the governor-general-in-council. The Act of 1786 "continued further the process of centralisation. It gave the governor-general power to override his council. This power enabled him to dominate the council and also to act without it. The governor-general thus became the effective central authority in the subcontinent. Lord Auckland issued the manifesto of 1838 announcing the Afghan expedition without consulting the councillors. "So long as the governor-general was supported by the President of the Board of Control, no power or person could resist him in India. Distance and disinclination to force a crisis gave the governor-general considerable freedom even from Home control". The dominion in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was a source of strength to the governor-general and the expansion of the Bengal presidency in the north added to his power. The greater part of the British dominion in the subcontinent was directly adminis-

tered by the governor-general of Bengal. The provisions of the Act of 1784 and the Act of 1793 together with the prestige of the extensive Bengal presidency established his ascendancy over the governors of Madras and Bombay. The Charter Act of 1833 further strengthened his power over other presidencies. He was redesignated governor-general of India and empowered to pass legislative acts for all the possessions of the Company with the assistance of his council. A Law member was added to his council for this purpose. The political responsibilities of the governor-general greatly increased with the expansion of the British dominion. In view of this, the direct administration of the extensive presidency of Bengal proved burdensome for him. So the Act of 1853 provided for the appointment of a lieutenant-governor for Bengal to help the governor-general in the administration of the province.

Thus the council and the presidencies were subordinate to the governor-general who became the 'supreme arbiter of the destiny' of the British Indian empire. He was directly under the Court of Directors which was controlled and directed by the Board of Control. Beginning from 1784 the Board of Control, which was responsible to the British government, had assumed a substantial part of the authority of the Court of Directors.

The civil service and the army helped to centralize all administrative control in the hands of the governor-general. These two branches of the government were kept separate from the beginning. Lord Cornwallis laid the foundation of the civil service. Before his time the commercial agents of the Company had discharged the revenue and civil duties. Cornwallis separated the revenue administration from commercial functions and allowed handsome salaries to the revenue collectors. " The Company's servants became the best paid civil service in the world". The first civil service competitive examination was held in 1853. This enabled the Company to draw talented young men from the British Isles to its administration in the subcontinent. Trained at the British universities, the young recruits developed into an effective bureaucracy. "If the civil service was the right hand of the governor-general, the army was his left". Up to 1773 the three presidencies had independent army organisations of their own. The Acts of 1773 and 1784 gave the governor-general

an overall control of the defence forces, but the armies remained distinct and separate till 1857. With the expansion of the Bengal presidency, however, its army and military establishment grew enormously and overshadowed those of others. Apart from the Company's army, Royal regiments were sent by the Home authorities in times of crisis. These remained stationed in the subcontinent and added to the military strength and resources of the empire. The Company's troops consisted of Europeans and locally raised troops called sepoys. The sepoy regiments formed the bulk of the army. Trained by European officers and equipped with up-to-date weapons the sepoys became the most disciplined and efficient fighting force in the subcontinent.

The Company gradually developed a police organization for the maintenance of internal peace. The police system began with Cornwallis who appointed a superintendent of police in Calcutta in 1791, and extended this arrangement to the districts next year. A superintendent of police was appointed in each district and the zamindars were relieved of their police duties. The district was divided into a number of police stations called *thanas* and a *darogha* or sub-inspector of police and several constables were posted in each *thana* to keep peace in the locality.

The Company adopted the fundamentals of the Mughul administrative system in the government of its dominions. It established a strong central authority after many experiments and evolved an efficient provincial administration responsible to the centre. The province was divided into many districts and the districts were subdivided into *thanas* or *tehsils*. Several districts were grouped into a division. A commissioner, subordinate to the governor, was placed in charge of each division. He supervised the work of the district officers and heard revenue appeals. Of the district officers, the collector was responsible for collecting revenue and deciding civil cases. In his capacity as district magistrate, the collector maintained law and order and administered criminal justice. Larger districts also included subdivisions. The administration of a subdivision was vested in a subdivisional officer.

The Company maintained the structure of the Mughul judicial system in the beginning, but this was later modified to suit the peculiar ideas of British administrators. At the apex was the

supreme court set up by the Regulating Act of 1773. Its powers were not clearly defined and this brought it into conflict with the governor-general and his council. This legal warfare was ended by the Act of 1781 which declared that the governor-general and his council were exempt from the jurisdiction of the court for acts done in their public capacity. Warren Hastings set up, at Calcutta, a supreme civil court and a supreme criminal court, called Sadr Diwani 'Adalat and Sadr Nizamat 'Adalat, respectively. The former was presided over by the governor-general and the members of the council, and the latter was placed under locally appointed judges.

The judicial administration was reorganized by Cornwallis. He created four provincial courts at Calcutta, Murshidabad, Dacca and Patna. These also acted as courts of circuit and twice a year visited places away from the headquarters outside the jurisdiction of the district courts. On the civil side the local diwani 'adalats were renamed district or zillah (zila') courts. The two systems of diwani 'adalat and faujdari 'adalat (criminal court) were linked at the district level by giving both civil and criminal power to the same judge. The munsif's court was at the lowest rung of the ladder in civil courts. The divisional commissioners enjoyed appellate jurisdiction. The magistrates tried smaller criminal cases. There was also a provision for appeal to higher courts against the decisions given by lower courts. Theoretically, this was an excellent system of administering justice. But the inexperience of British judges, their ignorance of the local customs and the use of elaborate English procedures proved a great handicap in the administration of justice. It created a class of legal middle-men or pleaders to advise perplexed clients. The legal profession of the subcontinent had thus its birth. The intricacy of the whole legal machine made it difficult for most citizens to get any real relief from the courts.

The revenue administration of the Company has been discussed in connection with the revenue reforms and the Permanent Settlement introduced by Lord Cornwallis. The Permanent Settlement and the Zamindari system were extended to Banaras and Orissa and to the Northern Sarkars during the years 1802-1805. By then the defects of the system had become fully apparent. So in the revenue administration of the territories of Madras and

Bombay presidencies the British administrators adopted the ryotwari system, which in accordance with the Mughul system brought the government into direct relation with the peasant. This eliminated middlemen and was free from the evils of the Permanent Settlement. The ryot was the proprietor of the land he tilled. He had to pay a reasonable revenue to the government and was left undisturbed in the possession of his land so long as he paid the fixed revenue.

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CHAPTER VI

The Rebellion of 1857

There are different views about the nature of the Rebellion of 1857. Sir James Outram was of the opinion that it was a conspiracy of the Muslims making capital out of Hindu grievances. The cartridge incident merely precipitated the mutiny before it had been properly organised and before adequate steps had been taken for making it a popular insurrection. This view gained currency during the rebellion and immediately after it, and was discarded later. Many European historians accepted the view of Sir John Lawrence that the incident of 1857 was just a mutiny of the sepoys employed in the Company's army and that it gave an opportunity to the interested persons to work against the British power in the subcontinent.

The rebellion of 1857 cannot be dismissed merely as a mutiny of the disaffected sepoys. This view had been built on the evidence of the sporadic mutinies as well as on a study of the rising in the light of its failure and ignores the role of the civil population. There are, however, materials which show that a plan for a general rising against British rule was set on foot at least a year before

the war broke out. The very nature of the mutinies in different places and at different times, beginning from January 1857, suggests that the sepoys must have received assurance of support and co-operation from some leading persons on whom they could confidently depend to risk their jobs and lives in fighting against their employers. These leading persons had been secretly working to prepare the ground for a revolt. But before the preparations were completed, the angry sepoys rose in isolated mutinies and threw the plan into disorder. Two unnamed military officers in the Bengal army at the time of the Rebellion of 1857 assert that the courtiers of the dispossessed Wajid 'Ali Shah began to plan the rising immediately after the annexation of Awadh and the exile of its ruler to Calcutta in April 1856. Secret agents were sent out to enlist the support of the leaders and the sepoys. Several factors favoured the secret agents in inciting the sepoys against the British. Three-fourths of the infantry and nearly two-thirds of the whole Bengal army was composed of the inhabitants of Awadh. These sepoys were strongly attached to their ruler whose dethronement had resulted in the unemployment of their relations. Malleson testifies to the fact that the courtiers and followers of the Nawab were definitely connected with the 'conspiracy'.

The distribution of *chapatis* in the civil population significantly shows that a conspiracy was in the making for about a year before the insurrection actually broke out in May 1857. The unnamed soldier authors mentioned above write that the *chapatis* had been passing from one village headman to another ever since the annexation of Awadh. They also passed from regiment to regiment and sepoy to sepoy. According to Holmes, the English were aware of the distribution of *chapatis* but this did not arouse their suspicions. No one disclosed its import to any Englishman, or to anybody associated with the government. So Percival Spear concludes that the view that the Revolt of 1857 was merely a mutiny of the sepoys can hardly be sustained in view of the established fact of the circulating *chapatis*.

Malleson maintains that Maulavi Ahmadullah devised the *chapati* scheme during his travels in the North-West Provinces to prepare the minds of the people for a rising. It was a silent indication of adherence to the cause. Very soon after the annexa-

tion of Awadh, he travelled through the province on a secret mission and visited Agra, Delhi, Meerut, Patna and Calcutta. He returned in April 1857 and circulated 'seditious' papers throughout Awadh. He was arrested, tried and condemned to death. Before the sentence could be carried out, the sepoys mutinied. He escaped and became a trusted leader of the rebels. The activities of Maulavi Ahmadullah corroborate the view that the plot originated in the civil population and the preparation of the ground for a general rising had begun about April 1856.

Even though the sepoys participated in the actual rising of May 1857, the rebellion cannot be termed as a mutiny. The soldiers were joined by the civil population, and the revolt spread over large areas of the subcontinent. The leaders of the sepoys came from both the communities, Muslim and Hindu. Sympathizing with the cause of the sepoys, the people rose simultaneously. In Awadh, Rohilkhand and various other areas the peasants fought side by side with their landlords. This has led several British historians to the conclusion that the revolt was a rising of all the native races. The manifestos of Emperor Bahadur Shah II and other leaders coveyed an appeal to all sections of people of the subcontinent to rise for their homeland and religion against the "tyrannical" foreign domination.

The Rebellion was born out of the widespread unrest in the population. The disaffection was caused by many factors, political, economic, social, religious and military. The unrest was much more intense among the Muslims than among the Hindus. The Muslims had serious grievances against the British rulers, who had dispossessed them of their empire. They could not reconcile themselves to the loss of their privileged position in the subcontinent. To this was added the British policy of distrust towards the Muslims. Employment in the civil service and the army which had been a great source of power and wealth to the Muslims was completely denied to them. Hunter admits this and says, "We shut the Muslim aristocracy out of the army, because we believed that their exclusion was necessary for our own safety. The Permanent Settlement, the resumption of free holdings and such other measures economically ruined the Muslims and shattered their social and cultural life."

Dalhousie's policy exasperated the Muslims. Shorn of all

territories and power, the Mughul Emperor Bahadur Shah II still maintained a court at Delhi. Dalhousie proposed that the imperial title would be discontinued after the death of Bahadur Shah and that his successor would have to vacate the palaces in the Red Fort of Delhi and move to the suburban town of Mehrauli. The Mughul Emperor was a symbol of the Muslim past in the subcontinent. The proposal wounded the sentiments of the Muslims in particular. The feelings of frustration and disaffection was aggravated by the annexation of Awadh, the premier Muslim state. This is why the rebellion assumed a popular character and became a rising of the princes, landlords, religious leaders and peasants.

Dalhousie's annexations and the ruthless application of the Doctrine of Lapse created unrest and suspicions among the princes and injured the sentiments of the Muslims and non-Muslims in general. "Men cherished their traditional institutions and thought nominal independence a necessary part of their communal self-respect". Besides Awadh, the Panjab, Satara, Nagpur, Jhansi and other smaller states had been annexed. This aggressive policy distressed rulers, their dependents, landlords and people and alarmed the princes and peoples of other states. The aggressive and superior airs assumed by the British administrators and generals offended and frightened the princes and the landlords. A typical example of this was Sir Charles Napier's statement who said, "Were I emperor of India for twelve years, ... no Indian prince should exist. The Nizam should be no more heard of . . . . Nepal would be ours". Dalhousie discontinued the pension allowed to Peshwa's son Nana Sahib and expelled him from his ancestral palace at Poona and exiled him to Bithur near Cawnpore. This was resented by the Marathas who looked upon Nana Sahib as a successor of their national leader. No wonder, Nana Sahib turned out to be the bitterest enemy of the British rulers.

The racial hauteur of the British gave offence to the people. The British officers, soldiers and others kept away from the people whom they treated contemptuously. They made no secret of their contempt for local cultures. Macaulay remarked that a single English book was better than an entire collection of Oriental books. This cultural arrogance of Macaulay was due to his igno-

rance of the Oriental learning. The English system of education was designed to glorify the Christian faith and to bring into contempt the religious beliefs of the young students. In a letter to his mother, Macaulay wrote, "It is my firm belief that if our plan of education is followed up there would not be a single idolator in Bengal thirty years hence."

The Christian missionaries carried on their proselytization under the patronage of the Company's government and intended to make this subcontinent "the bulwark of Christianity in the East". In their zeal to gain converts they disparaged the faiths and learning of the people. Even the English officers publicly denounced the religions of the people and worked for the propagation of Christianity. Many Englishmen joined the army with the purpose of converting the sepoys. They abused the faiths of the sepoys in offensive language. This naturally produced resentment. The people began to suspect even the beneficial social measures adopted by the government. William Bentinck abolished *sati* and infanticide and passed a law providing for the re-marriage of the Hindu widows. The Hindus suspected these social reforms as a trap for the conversion of Hindus to Christianity. Hindu suspicions were increased because the missionaries interpreted these laws as triumphs of Christian principles over Hindu beliefs.

The social reforms and the introduction of Western scientific inventions may have been prompted merely by humanitarian considerations, but these came as an imposition from rulers alien in faith and indifferent to the feelings of the people. The government had no means of knowing the popular sentiment. This is why their social reforms wounded the Hindu feeling.

To these were added the grievances of the sepoys serving in the army. These sepoys were irritated for various reasons. In the wars against Burma and Afghanistan they were required to serve in far away places. Majority of the soldiers were Brahmins and Rajputs. The former were unwilling to cross the sea and serve outside the subcontinent for fear of losing their caste. In 1856 the government promulgated the General Enlistment Act which required of the new recruits to serve wherever ordered. This new rule caused resentment among the sepoys. There was indiscipline in the army. When they were ordered to a distant expedition, the soldiers clamoured for additional allowances. The government

used to concede their demands after some argument. This encouraged defiance of authority. The sepoys also knew their importance. They knew that their arms had saved the British from a disaster in Afghanistan and conquered the Panjab for the rulers by defeating the Sikhs. The sepoys, moreover, greatly outnumbered the European troops. The despatch of European troops to theatres of war in China and Persia had reduced the proportion between the British troops and the sepoys to 1 and 3. About half of the available British troops were stationed in the recently subjugated Panjab. An insignificant number was stationed in Bengal, Bihar and the Doab. The paucity of the European troops gave an opportunity to the disaffected sepoys.

All these factors combined to produce a spirit of general unrest and revolt. A few dispossessed chiefs and religious leaders had secretly prepared the ground for a rising. Secret agents were working to enlist the support of the sepoys. The cartridge incident fanned the flame of discontent and precipitated the revolt. A new kind of rifle, named Enfield, was introduced in the army in January 1857. Its cartridges were smeared with grease and had to be bitten at one end by the user. It came to be known that this grease was made of fats of cows and pigs. The sepoys suspected that the British had introduced this weapon deliberately to insult their faiths and their indignation rose to a high pitch. Between January and March there were several plots and mutinies in Calcutta and in the cantonments of Behrampur and Barrackpur. On 26 January, 5 February and again on 10 March, the sepoys of Calcutta and Behrampur tried to seize Fort William. Matters came to a crisis in Meerut on 9 May where a company of sepoys was court-martialled for refusing to touch the cartridges. Each member of the company was sentenced to ten years' rigorous imprisonment. Their fellow sepoys of three regiments in different places rose into rebellion next morning, opened the gates of the prison-house, killed their British officers and marched towards Delhi, where they were joined by the local troops. Their number rose to 5000. They took possession of the city and proclaimed the aged Bahadur Shah as Emperor of Hindustan on 11 May 1857. A cabinet was installed and a constitution known as *Dasturul 'Amal* was also prepared. Mirza Mughul, a son of Bahadur Shah, was chosen as commander-in-chief and other princes, such as Mirza Abu Bakr,

Mirza Mendhu and Mirza Khizr Sultan, were appointed commanders. The Muslim chiefs of Awadh, Rohilkhand and Bijnor sent *nazrs* and messages offering allegiance to the Emperor. Brigades from different stations came to Delhi. The arrival of Bakht Khan of Bareilly with an army of 14,000 added strength to the Delhi forces. Bakht Khan proved himself a capable military leader and a wise administrator. He was appointed to the supreme command of the forces. But the newly established government did not possess money and resources to maintain the army and carry on the struggle. The Emperor had to auction his personal effects to pay the salaries of the soldiers. The Britishers spread a network of spies who included even some royal advisers. They created dissensions between Mirza Mughul and Bakht Khan. With all these disadvantages Bakht Khan defended Delhi against the British forces, strengthened by Sikh contingents from Patiala and Jhind for four months. The British artillery, however, succeeded in making breaches in the walls and entering the city on 20 September. The Emperor fled from the Fort and took shelter in the tomb of Humayun. Failing to persuade the aged Emperor to continue the fight from the Doab or the Deccan, Bakht Khan left for Awadh. At that time, the situation there also was serious. So he took refuge in the hills of Nepal. A British army under Hodson escorted Bahadur Shah back to the Fort with every mark of indignity. Hodson shot two sons and a grandson of the Emperor and chopped off their heads. A tribunal tried Bahadur Shah for treason and sentenced him to be exiled to Rangoon where he died in 1862. Legally, there was no case against the Emperor, as the East India Company was legally his agent.

In Awadh the Britishers were driven out of Lucknow and Sir Henry Lawrence was killed in an engagement with the sepoys fighting under Maulavi Ahmadullah Shah, on 15 July. Referring to Maulavi Ahmadullah, Malleson says, "Of the ascertained facts respecting his action this has at least been proved that very soon after the annexation of Oudh [Awadh] he travelled over the North-West provinces on a mission which was a mystery to the European authorities. He stayed for some time in Agra, visited Delhi, Meerut, Patna and Calcutta. In April 1857, shortly after his return, he circulated seditious papers throughout Oudh. The police did not arrest him. Alarmed at his activities, the

British authorities despatched a body of troops to seize him. Taken prisoner he was tried and condemned to death. Before the sentence could be executed, the war broke out. He escaped and became the confidential agent of the Begam of Oudh and the trusted leader of the rebels." Malleson also attributes the authorship of the *chapati* scheme to Maulavi Ahmadullah. After the expulsion of the Britishers from Lucknow, Wajid 'Ali's young son, Birjis Qadr, was raised to the *masnad* and his mother, Hazrat Mahal, became the regent. The mother and the son professed allegiance to the Emperor. The sepoys fought desperately under the leadership of Hazrat Mahal and Maulavi Ahmadullah. But they headed irregular troops and had no resources. On 1 March, the British forces under Sir Colin Campbell entered Lucknow. After a few days' fighting Hazrat Mahal, accompanied by Birjis Qadr, left the palace on 16 March and escaped to Bundi. Hazrat Mahal afterwards escaped into the territory of Nepal. Ahmadullah Shah resisted the enemy for three days more and then retreated. He carved out a small principality for himself in the suburbs of Shahjahanpur with its capital at Muhammadi. He struck coins and had the *khutbah* read in his own name. But he was defeated by the British troops. "A Hindu chief betrayed him to the British troops who shot him dead in June 1858. Maulavi Ahmadullah Shah was an able organiser. In appreciation of him, Kaye says, "If a patriot is a man who plots and fights for the independence, wrongfully destroyed, of his native country, then most certainly the Maulavi was a true patriot. He has not stained his sword by assassination". He also observes that the memory of Maulavi Ahmadullah is entitled to the respect of the brave and the true-hearted of all nations.

Nana Sahib, who lived at Bithur, led the revolt in the Cawnpore area. He was helped by 'Azimullah Khan and Tantia Topi, a Maratha leader. The rising began in Cawnpore on 10 June, and Nana Sahib took possession of the city. The British garrison of the locality was beleaguered. Nana Sahib came to an agreement with its commander promising safe conduct to the English to Allahabad by river. But his soldiers fired a volley of shots at the boats carrying the English evacuees. Most of the Englishmen were killed. This news brought Havelock from Allahabad who defeated Nana Sahib's forces on his way to Cawnpore. In revenge

Nana Sahib ordered a general massacre of the English prisoners, 5 men and 206 women and children, kept in a building called Bibigarh. Their dead bodies were thrown into a well. On 17 July Havelock entered Cawnpore. Nana Sahib left for Awadh and Tantia Topi went to Gwalior. Tantia Topi collected fresh forces and fought several actions against Havelock. But he was beaten. He also fought in concert with the Rani of Jhansi, but without success. Tantia Topi was captured on 7 April 1859 through the treachery of a Hindu chief, Man Singh. When the victorious British troops pursued the forces of Awadh, Nana Sahib fled and disappeared in the jungles of Nepal.

The widowed Rani of Jhansi, Lakshmi Rai, led a force of 20,000 in Bundelkhand and massacred every European that fell into her hands She fought valiantly against the British troops. She died of a wound sustained in an engagement in June 1858. After her death the British did not encounter any serious opposition.

In Rohilkhand the sepoys as well as the chiefs rose in revolt at the reports of the events that had taken place in Meerut and Delhi. Khan Bahadur Khan, a grandson of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, became the leader of the rebellion. Under his direction, British rule was effaced from Barielly, Bada'un, Shahjahanpur and the neighbouring places. Nawab Majiduddin Khan gave a lead to the sepoys in Moradabad and Bijnor where the rebellion was organized by Mahmud Khan. Saharanpur and Muzaffarnagar were also witnessed fighting under Haji Imdadullah. After the capture of Lucknow in March 1858, the British sent a major portion of their troops to Rohilkhand which was recovered after a protracted warfare in June 1858. In Allahabad the sepoys rose on 6 June and they were led by Maulavi Liaqat 'Ali, a professional teacher commanding respect and influence. The city passed under their control, but the Sikh garrison defended the fort. The arrival of Neill with a force restored British authority in Allahabad.

There were isolated battles in many places in Bengal, Bihar and Sind. Not very serious, these risings were easily suppressed and their leaders executed ruthlessly. By the beginning of 1859 the British had completely regained supremacy over the subcontinent.

The rebellion failed. The failure was caused mainly by the

absence of a fully organized plan. True, there was some kind of a plan of rising. But it had not quite matured when the sepoys rose in revolt; it required time to develop a plan of concerted action for a rising in the vast areas of the subcontinent. Some leaders had only prepared the ground by rousing the people and the sepoys for a revolt. The desire to overthrow British rule was there. It was necessary to plan a simultaneous rising throughout the land on a fixed day under common leadership equipped with adequate military and material resources. Once the revolt had begun, the people supported their leaders. But in view of the absence of organization and co-ordination they fought mostly like rabbles. So the British troops were able to defeat and disperse them.

Secondly, the British troops, though numerically inferior, were superior to the sepoys, the irregular recruits and the volunteers in training. The British had the advantage of an effective and adequate military equipment and resources. They fully utilized the newly invented breach-loaders against the local soldiery who used old and comparatively ineffective weapons. Thirdly, their control over the telegraph and postal systems enabled the British commanders to gather information from different theatres of war and issue necessary instructions to their officers commanding troops in different parts of the subcontinent. Fourthly, many of the states, the prominent among them being Haidarabad, Gwalior and Nepal, remained loyal to the British rulers. The Gurkhas and the Sikhs fought for them. Because of an agreement concluded by the governor-general Lord Canning with Amir Dost Muhammad in 1856, the Afghans did not avail themselves of Britain's difficulties to take revenge for their campaign of 1839.

The British retribution was terrible. Their soldiers were let loose on the people. They massacred sepoys, killed people and committed wanton cruelties on men, women and children. All that could be done to humiliate the people and insult their religion was done. Delhi was pillaged and plundered by the Sikh and English soldiers. Muslim notables were hanged in large numbers. As a penal measure Delhi was separated from the North-West Provinces and joined to the Panjab, where the administrators enjoyed vast discretionary powers to deal with the subject peoples.

The Revolt of 1857 extinguished the rule of the Company. The British government assumed direct responsibility for the administration of its empire in the subcontinent. The change was effected by the Queen's proclamation and the Government of India Act of 1858. By a proclamation issued on 1 November, Queen Victoria announced the transfer of the empire of the Company to the Crown. Lord Canning became the Viceroy. This proclamation assured the subject races that there would be no further acquisition of territory and the treaties made with and *sanads* issued to the states would be respected by the new Government. There would be no interference in the religious and social customs and usages of the people. In legislation the British government would respect public opinion. The people of the subcontinent would be appointed to responsible offices under the Government. The proclamation also held out promises of pardon and amnesty to the 'rebels' who submitted.

The transfer of power was effected by the Government of India Act, 1858. A Secretary of State for India was appointed to take the place of the President of the Board of Control. He was to be advised by a council of 15 members. The Secretary of State was a member of the British cabinet. The administration of the subcontinent became responsible to the British Parliament through the Secretary and the Cabinet.

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CHAPTER VII

The Impact of the Company's Rule upon the Muslims

The loss of their empire naturally affected the Muslims adversely. For them it was a fall from the heights of political dignity, social prestige, economic prosperity and cultural ascendancy to the depths of humiliation and poverty. A people who had ruled the subcontinent for many centuries were subjected to the rule of an alien race that had entered the land as peaceful traders and flourished under the generous concessions granted by their rulers. The Hindus allied with the British and supported them in bringing about the downfall of Muslim rule. The British reciprocated this sentiment to the extent that it served their own interests. Giving evidence before a parliamentary select committee in 1813, Sir John Malcolm said, "The attachment of the Hindoo population of India is the chief source of our security in India". The Hindus received the crumbs from the British table in the form of minor posts. Later they also realized that the change from Muslim rule had not been to their benefit.

The Muslims found it hard to reconcile themselves to the new order. The British, on their part, looked upon the Muslims

as their natural enemies and followed a policy of distrust and hostility towards them. The contemporary British administrators and writers frequently refer to the hostile attitude of the Muslims and the prejudice of the Company's government towards them. Captain T. Macan in his evidence before a parliamentary committee said that the Muslims "would join any European power, even with a slight prospect of success, in the hope of casting off certain thraldom in which they are now held, for any future contingency". Lord Ellenborough wrote to the Duke of Wellington in 1843, saying, "I cannot close my eyes to the belief that the race (Mohammedans) is fundamentally hostile to us and our true policy is to conciliate the Hindus".

Being prejudiced against the Muslims, the British rulers did not care for the sentiments of this community. This is clear from their numerous statements. In 1813 Thomas Munro stated that the "discontented part of the Mahomedans would not be sufficiently powerful to effect anything against the Company's government while the Hindu population is satisfied". So the Muslims remained unreconciled and the British continued to follow their policy of ruining the hostile community. The Muslim discontent against alien domination was expressed in such incidents as the Faqir Rebellion in the time of Warren Hastings and the movements of Saiyid Ahmad Shahid, Titu Mir and Haji Shari'atullah which had the effect of keeping alive the spirit of independence in the Muslim community and its attitude of anatgonism to the British. In 1838 an English journal commented upon the spirit of "rebellion" shown by some Muslim newspapers. It stated that a Muslim paper "has of late indulged in such a violent attack of the English government that one might almost be led to suppose that it had sold itself to the interests of our political opponents across the Indus. Whenever there was some trouble in any part of the dominion, the blame was promptly laid on the Muslims even when there was no evidence for it. In 1871, Hunter wrote, "The Musalmans of India are, and have been for many years, a source of chronic danger to the British power in India". The British rulers also attributed the war of 1857 to the Muslims alone. That is why the Muslims were visited with a terrible revenge. Thompson and Garrat wrote that at the end of the 'revolt' of 1857 the English soldiers smeared the bodies of the

Muslims with pig fat and sewed them in pig's skins. Then they burnt them and had their bodies polluted by the Hindus. Hundreds of Muslims were either imprisoned or executed. Their properties were confiscated on a large scale on the ground that they were involved in the rebellion. The policy of distrust and vindictive repression towards the Muslims continued long after the rebellion had been put down. Writing of the Muslims in 1871, W. W. Hunter says, "The English Government can hold no parley with traitors in arms. Those who appeal to the sword must perish by the sword".

In the words of Hunter, the Muslims decayed under British rule. They had a lion's share of higher posts in the government during their own rule. They had worked as ministers, secretaries, departmental heads, viceroys, governors, provincial officers, divisional officers and district officers. The army had offered another lucrative career to the Muslims. They occupied the higher army commands and found employment as mansabdars and soldiers. The responsible offices of the revenue department were mostly held by the Muslims. They were also appointed in large numbers to the judicial offices in the administration. With the establishment of British rule the Muslims were gradually removed from the various departments of the government. All the avenues of employment were closed to them. Hunter says that the exclusion of the Muslims from the army and higher posts of the administration was necessary for the safety of British rule; but this policy brought ruin to the Muslims.

The introduction of English and the vernacular languages as official languages in 1837 further diminished the prospects of state employment for the Muslims. Several thousands of Muslims whose services had been still retained in the judicial branch of government and some other departments were suddenly declared illiterate and they lost their jobs and subsistence. The Hindus who accepted the English language from the beginning, as they had accepted the British, reaped the benefit of this change. The British administrators, moreover, followed a policy of discrimination against the Muslims even in filling minor jobs. A Hindu was preferred to a Muslim even if the latter was better qualified than the former. Advertisements invitng applications for government jobs specifically mentioned that Muslims would not be appointed.

The *Durbin,* a Persian paper of Calcutta, commented on this situation in 1869 and wrote, "All sorts of employments, great and small, are being gradually snatched away from the Muhammedans and bestowed on men of other races, particularly the Hindus". It pointed out that the Commissioner of the Sundarbans, who wanted to fill some vacancies in his office, advertised to the effect that only Hindus would be appointed. Hunter admits that the exclusion of the Muslims was so complete that in the government offices in Calcutta they could not expect a post higher than that of a porter, messenger, filler of ink-pots and mender of pens.

By a series of revenue and financial measures, the British rulers smashed the political and social position of the Muslims and impoverished this once powerful and prosperous community. The Permanent Settlement and the resumption of holdings and their severe effects on the Muslims have been discussed earlier. In the province of Bombay, the government appointed an inquiry committee, known as Inam Commission, to inquire into the land grants of the Muslim times. This commission took away 20,000 estates from the Muslims and thus ruined many families and institutions of the community.

The Company's commercial policy eliminated the Muslims from internal and foreign trade. During Muslim rule the big trade was mostly in Muslim hands. With the coming of the Europeans in the subcontinent the Muslim merchants lost much of their commerce with foreign countries. Still they maintained their hold on internal trade and their commercial activities extended to the Persian Gulf and the coastal territories of the Arabian Sea. During the Company's rule the Muslim traders were pushed out of this area of trade by the competition of the Company's traders who enjoyed many special concessions and enjoyed the patronage of the rulers. A few Marwaris and Hindu banias from up-country, who began their career as the commercial agents of the Company, gradually built up their trading business in Bengal and other provinces. Only in Sind, one of the last areas to be annexed by the British, the local traders were able to continue their hold on internal trade. The commercial policy of the Company also killed the flourishing muslin and weaving industries of Bengal. The English indigo planters ruined the cultivators of the province. The Company's investment policy through which commodities

were purchased out of revenues and their sale proceeds were invested in England further impoverished the people.

The educational system of the Muslims which was almost entirely maintained by rent-free grants received a death-blow on account of the resumption proceedings of the Company's government. The impoverished Muslims found it difficult to maintain their institutions on their own. In consequence many ceased functioning and only a few continued their precarious existence.

The British government did not attach any value to Oriental learning and, therefore, it did not extend support to Muslim education. Macaulay's remark to the effect that a single English book was better than the entire stock of Oriental books has been quoted earlier. In consequence of the resumption of land endowments, the impoverishment of the Muslims and the unsympathetic attitude of the government, the Muslim system of education languished. On the other hand, the newly introduced English system of education was not acceptable to the Muslims because of the many drawbacks from which it suffered. In the first place, it made no provision for religious education. The Muslims firmly believed that religious education was a necessity, but the British administrators wanted actively to discourage Islam. The English education was in its nature unavoidably antagonistic to their (Muslim) interests and at variance with all their social traditions. So the Muslims held aloof from this education. They knew that this system was designed to weaken their faith and to convert them to Christianity. Charles Grant, the father of modern education in the subcontinent, said in 1792, "A true knowledge of nature would break the fabric of Hindu religion, would enlighten Indians by promoting mechanical inventions, and by a gradual process Christianity would supplant idolatry and superstitions". Referring to the object of the Western education in a letter to his mother, Macaulay wrote that if that system was followed, no idolator would be left in Bengal after thirty years. The conversion to Christianity through education was Macaulay's ideal who was one of the foremost champions of Western education in the subcontinent. Moreover, most of the English schools were run by missionaries. The Christian Scriptures formed a part of the course of study in these schools.

The Muslim parents did not send their sons to such institutions.

Hunter himself admits that the unsympathetic system of public instruction introduced by the British government was at the root of the backwardness of the Muslims and on account of this very backwardness the Muslims lost ground even in old professions including law, medicine and teaching.

Thus within a few years of the loss of their political power, the Muslims lost all avenues of employment, were dispossessed of their estates and deprived of the benefits of education. From the zenith of prosperity they fell into the depth of poverty. From enlightenment they descended to illiteracy and backwardness. A highly cultured, enlightened and prosperous community was turned into a backward and poor people. Commenting on the condition of the Muslims, Hunter says, "A hundred and seventy years ago it was almost impossible for a well-born Musalman in Bengal to become poor; at present it is almost impossible for him to continue rich".

Conditions in other areas were no different. About the time when Hunter's account of the conditions of the Muslims of Bengal became public, Governor Hobart of Madras wrote his famous minute on the education of Muslims and their employment in the public service, in the Presidency of Madras. His inquiry showed that the Muslims had lost their former share in the public service. Out of 485 judicial, magisterial and collectoral posts in the Presidency, only 19 were held by Muslims and even these posts belonged to the lowest rungs of bureaucracy. Hobart admitted that recruiting authorities were prejudiced in favour of the Hindus and that the Muslims were scarcely ever selected even if they were fully qualified for the jobs they were seeking.

In the Presidency of Bombay the Muslims fared just as badly. In 1871 not a single Muslim name could be found in the list of high civil and judicial officials. In Sind, a preponderantly Muslim area, there was not a single Muslim among the subordinate judges. Out of the 1,930 Muslims serving in the Police department only 57 belonged to the salary group of Rs. 30 and upwards. In the Revenue department they numbered 481, but only two received Rs. 30 or upwards per mensem. In the North-Western Provinces and Awadh the estates of innumerable Muslim landowners had been expropriated for their share in the war of 1857.

In the Panjab the attitude of the rulers was equally antagonistic towards Muslims. Some high officials did not like their preponderance in the Government departments, although the province was overwhelmingly Muslim. The reports of the Panjab Education Department show that the Government aimed at bringing about a "balance" between the Hindu and Muslim employees because it considered Muslim preponderance inexpedient in the department. Fuller, the Director of Public Instruction, writing in 1861, expressed dissatisfaction at the preponderance of Muslims among those who were being trained as vernacular teachers, and advised the District Officers "to prepare the way for a gradual change by encouraging more Hindus to qualify as teachers, and by appointing them to schools where the residents" were "not too strongly prejudiced in favour of Muhammadan instructors".

It is important to note that the impoverishment of the Muslims had not wholly resulted from the events following the war of 1857. It had, in fact, continued side by side with the decline of Muslim supremacy in the subcontinent. The exclusion of Muslims from important government posts began from the time of Cornwallis. That Governor-General introduced a policy of anglicizing all important public offices which led to the exclusion of Muslims from these positions. However, the Muslims still enjoyed a predominant position in the lower ranks of Government service. But the policy pursued and changes effected during the governor-generalship of Lord William Bentinck struck the most serious blow to their prosperity and importance. The status of Persian as the official language had allowed the Muslims a predominant position both in Government employ and in intellectual prestige. This language was now replaced by English and by local vernaculars. Unlike the Hindus, the Muslims had not learnt English. They had, therefore, no chance of being appointed to the posts requiring a knowledge of English. In the provinces where the local vernacular was Urdu, they managed to continue as subordinate functionaries, but in the provinces where the local languages were not akin to Persian they were excluded even from minor government jobs.

This development caused a great damage to the social and political importance of the Muslims and also gave rise to what later came to be known as the "Hindu-Muslim Question". The

English educated Hindus now began to occupy positions in government offices formerly held by the Muslims.

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CHAPTER VIII

Canning to Lytton

The War of 1857 closed one chapter and opened another in the history of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. With this War ended the Company's rule and the administration of this vast land was assumed by the Crown. The way for this had been prepared by the Charter Act of 1853, which, unlike former measures "gave no definite renewal of the charter for a term of years". The Government of India Act of 1858, which came as a natural result of the War of 1857, ended the Company's career as a ruling power. The control of government was now vested in a Secretary of State who replaced the Board of Control and the Court of Directors. The actual administration was vested in the Governor-General who received the new title of Viceroy as the personal representative of the Crown.

To assist the Secretary of State in his work the Act created a Council of India consisting of fifteen members with experience of high office in India and holding office during good behaviour for ten to fifteen years. Eight members of the Council were to be appointed by the Crown and seven in the first instance by the

Court of Directors and later by the Council itself.

The changes effected by the Act of 1858 were formally announced in the subcontinent in the Royal Proclamation of 1 November 1858, which declared the principles of justice and religious toleration as the "guiding policy of the Queen's rule".

Lord Canning (*1856*-62)

Lord Canning, the last Governor-General under the Company, was appointed the first Viceroy and Governor-General of the subcontinent under the Crown. It fell to his lot to reorganize the war term administration.

The most difficult problem for the Government after 1857 was that of finances. The war had increased the public debt by about £ 42 million. The military changes that followed augmented the annual expenditure by about £ 10 million. To mend this situation, a distinguished economist and parliamentary financier, James Wilson, was sent out from England in 1859 as finance member of the Viceroy's Council. He died after a brief tenure of nine months. However, during this period he reorganized the financial system, outlined necessary economies, imposed an income tax and 'introduced the practice of annual budgets and statements of accounts'. His work was carried on by his successor, Samuel Laing, who introduced a uniform tariff of 10 per cent, a convertible paper currency and a higher salt duty. The financial reforms initiated by Wilson and continued by Laing had brought about an equilibrium in finances by 1862.

The army was also reorganized. Before the War of 1857 there had been about 238,000 local and 45,000 European troops in the Company's army in the presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Bengal. The proportion of local soldiery was now reduced. When reorganization became complete in 1863 the British Indian army consisted of 140,000 Indians and 65,000 Europeans.

The Permanent Settlement had an adverse effect on the fortunes of the cultivators in Bengal. As the Court of Directors declared in 1858, 'the rights of the Bengal ryots had passed over *sub silentio* and they had become, to all intents and purposes, tenants-at-will'. In 1859 the Bengal Rent Act was passed to protect their rights. The Act applied to Bengal proper as well as the whole of north-west, except Awadh and the Panjab. It conferred occupancy

rights on all cultivators who could prove possession for more than twelve years, and forbade the raising of rents except in accordance with its own provisions. Macaulay's Penal Code, drawn up in 1837, was enforced in 1860. In the following year the Indian High Courts Act authorised the abolition of the Supreme and Sadr 'Adalat Courts representing, respectively, the jurisdiction of the Crown and the Company, and the creation of High Courts at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

The Indian Councils Act of 1861

An important constitutional change was effected in the Governor-General's Executive Council by the Indian Councils Act of 1861. A fifth ordinary member was added to it, in addition to the Commander-in-Chief who sat as an extraordinary member. The Governor-General was empowered to appoint a president to preside over the meetings of the Council in his absence. He was also authorized to make rules for the transaction of business. It was in accordance with this provision that Lord Canning introduced the portfolio system placing each member of the Council in charge of a specific department. Each member disposed of minor matters himself and important ones in consultation with the Governor-General. The Council as a whole was chiefly concerned with issues in dispute between departments or those of general administrative importance.

The Act also changed the composition of the Legislative Council created under the Charter Act of 1853 by adding six to twelve additional members to the Governor-General's Council, of whom at least one half were to be non-officials. These members were to be appointed by the Governor-General for a period of two years. The functions of the Legislative Council, thus reconstituted, were strictly limited to legislation. It was expressly forbidden to transact any other business and was very much under the control of the Viceroy. Its members were not allowed to ask questions or move resolutions, nor could they exercise any control over the executive.

Although the Act of 1861 did not allow much independence to the Legislative Council, yet it was a momentous step to include non-official members into the central as well as provincial legislative councils. Under this provision local gentry were

for the first time nominated to the legislative councils and a beginning was made towards associating them with the administration of the country.

Lord Lawrence (1864-69)

Lord Canning resigned office in 1862 and was succeeded by Lord Elgin, who had acquired wide experience of colonial administration, but he expired at the hill station of Dharamsala in November 1863 after remaining in office only for twenty months. His successor, Sir John Lawrence, assumed office as Viceroy and Governor-General in January 1864. Lawrence pushed forward with vigour the policy of constructing works of public utility inaugurated by Dalhousie, and paid particular attention to the development of railways, irrigation and roads.

Unlike his brother Henry, John Lawrence was known for his sympathies towards the peasantry. By passing the Panjab and Awadh Tenancy Acts of 1868, he extended to the tenants of Awadh and the Panjab rights similar to those conceded to cultivators in Bengal under the Bengal Rent Act of 1859.

During Lawrence's term of office two terrible famines visited the subcontinent. The first one that afflicted Orissa in 1866 took away from one to two million lives because of the difficulties of communications and the inadequacy of relief measures adopted by the Government. The second visitation of 1868-69 in Bundelkhand and Rajputana resulted in the enunciation of the principle that officers of the Government were personally responsible for taking all possible measures to avert death by starvation.

The finances of the country were not quite in order under Lawrence He introduced the principle of raising money for 'reproductive' works by loan, but even so the annual expenditure rose from £ 45,750,000 to £ 54,500,000, or about 20 per cent.

Frontier and Afghan Policy

With the annexation of the Panjab the frontier of British India extended to territories occupied by the free tribes on the north-west frontier. These turbulent tribes were always ready for raids over the settled areas. They proved, therefore, a constant source of anxiety to the Panjab Government and

different administrators advocated different frontier policies. One of the extreme schools of British administrators went to the extent of advocating a retirement to the line of the Indus. On the other extreme were the supporters of the 'Forward School' who favoured a complete subjugation of the tribes and the establishment of a frontier conterminous with Afghanistan. The extremists of the 'Forward School' advocated the partition of Afghanistan or, if circumstances permitted, its complete conquest. Lawrence favoured the policy of leaving the tribes their independence and endeavouring to win their esteem. As to Afghanistan he advocated "friendship towards the actual rulers combined with rigid abstention from interference in domestic feuds". The Amir of Afghanistan, Dost Muhammad, died in 1863. During the war of succession that followed his demise, Lawrence adopted a policy of strict non-interference. When Sher 'Ali emerged as the victor in 1868, Lawrence promptly recognized him Amir.

Lord Mayo (1869-72)

On Lawrence's retirement in January 1861, Disraeli appointed Lord Mayo, his Chief Secretary for Ireland, as the new Viceroy and Governor-General of the subcontinent. Mayo continued Lawrence's Afghan policy. When Sher 'Ali visited the subcontinent in March 1869, he formally recognized him at the Ambala *darbar* as Amir of Afghanistan. Sher 'Ali was so much impressed by Mayo's cordiality that he passed on to him the letters he had received (from 1870 onward) from General Kaufmann, Governor-General of Russian Turkestan.

In the domestic sphere, Mayo had first to deal with the financial deficit left by his predecessor. With the help of Strachey brothers he succeeded in bringing about an equilibrium in the finances by raising the income tax from one to two and a half and then to three per cent, and by increasing the salt duty and enforcing economies. He organized the first general census of the subcontinent, created a department of agriculture and commerce and introduced the system of provincial finance.

Mayo had completed only three years of his term as Viceroy when, at the conclusion of a visit to the Andaman Islands in February 1872, he was stabbed to death by a Pathan convict.

Lord Northbrook (1872-76)

Mayo was succeeded by Lord Northbrook. Except for a year of famine, the subcontinent was prosperous during Northbrook's regime due partly to the financial reforms of Lord Mayo and partly to the increase in the overseas trade with the opening of the Suez Canal. His careful measures successfully averted the famine which threatened Bengal and Bihar in 1873-74. In 1875 he dethroned the Gaikwar of Baroda for misgovernment and for an attempt to poison the British Resident.

Since the early 1860's Russia had resumed her policy of aggressive imperialism in Central Asia. When Khiva was occupied by the Russians in June 1873, Sher 'Ali, the Amir of Afghanistan, felt alarmed and sent an envoy to secure from Northbrook a "guarantee against Russian attack". The latter was in favour of giving a formal guarantee but was asked by the Secretary of State to declare merely that the British Government would maintain its "settled policy in Afghanistan". The Amir interpreted it as unwillingness on the part of the British to protect him against a Russian attack. Soon afterwards Northbrook offended him by addressing to him a 'dignified rebuke' for imprisoning his eldest son, Y'aqub Khan, and declaring the younger, 'Abdullah Jan, as his heir. Sher 'Ali now looked for a good understanding with Russia. Exchange of letters with General Kaufmann became more frequent and Russian agents became a familiar sight in Kabul.

In 1874 the Conservative Party came to power in Britain with Disraeli as Prime Minister and Salisbury as Secretary of State for India. The Liberal policy of moderation was now replaced by the Conservative policy of aggression. To establish British influence at the court of Kabul, Salisbury suggested, early in 1875, that the Amir should be asked to accept a British Resident at his court. Northbrook and his entire Council disapproved of the suggestion which was repeated by Salisbury as an instruction with the result that Northbrook retired in the next year.

Lord Lytton (1876-80)

The new Viceroy, Lord Lytton, was a man of great ability and long diplomatic experience, but his administration in the

subcontinent was not successful. His foreign policy resulted in the Second Afghan War and some of his internal measures made him extremely unpopular.

Apart from the Second Afghan War, the chief event of Lytton's period of office was the terrible famine of 1876-78 which affected most of southern India, Madras, Bombay, Haiderabad, Mysore and parts of Central India and the Panjab, and cost more than five million human lives in British territory alone. Some of his methods were criticized as inadequate. However, he showed imagination by the appointment of a famine commission under the chairmanship of Sir Richard Strachey as a result of whose recommendations the Famine Code of 1883 was formulated. In 1878 Lytton passed his much criticised Vernacular Press Act which greatly curbed the freedom of the Vernacular Press and caused much resentment to "educated" classes. His unpopularity grew further when, despite the opposition of the majority of his Council, he removed, in 1879, the customs duty on coarse kinds of cotton cloth to benefit the textile manufacturers of Lancashire. However, by establishing the same year the Statutory Civil Service of nominated Indians he attempted to fulfil the promise of the Charter Act of 1833 and that of the Royal Proclamation of 1858. Since this service was regarded as inferior to the Covenanted Civil Service it failed to attract higher classes and was abolished eight years later.

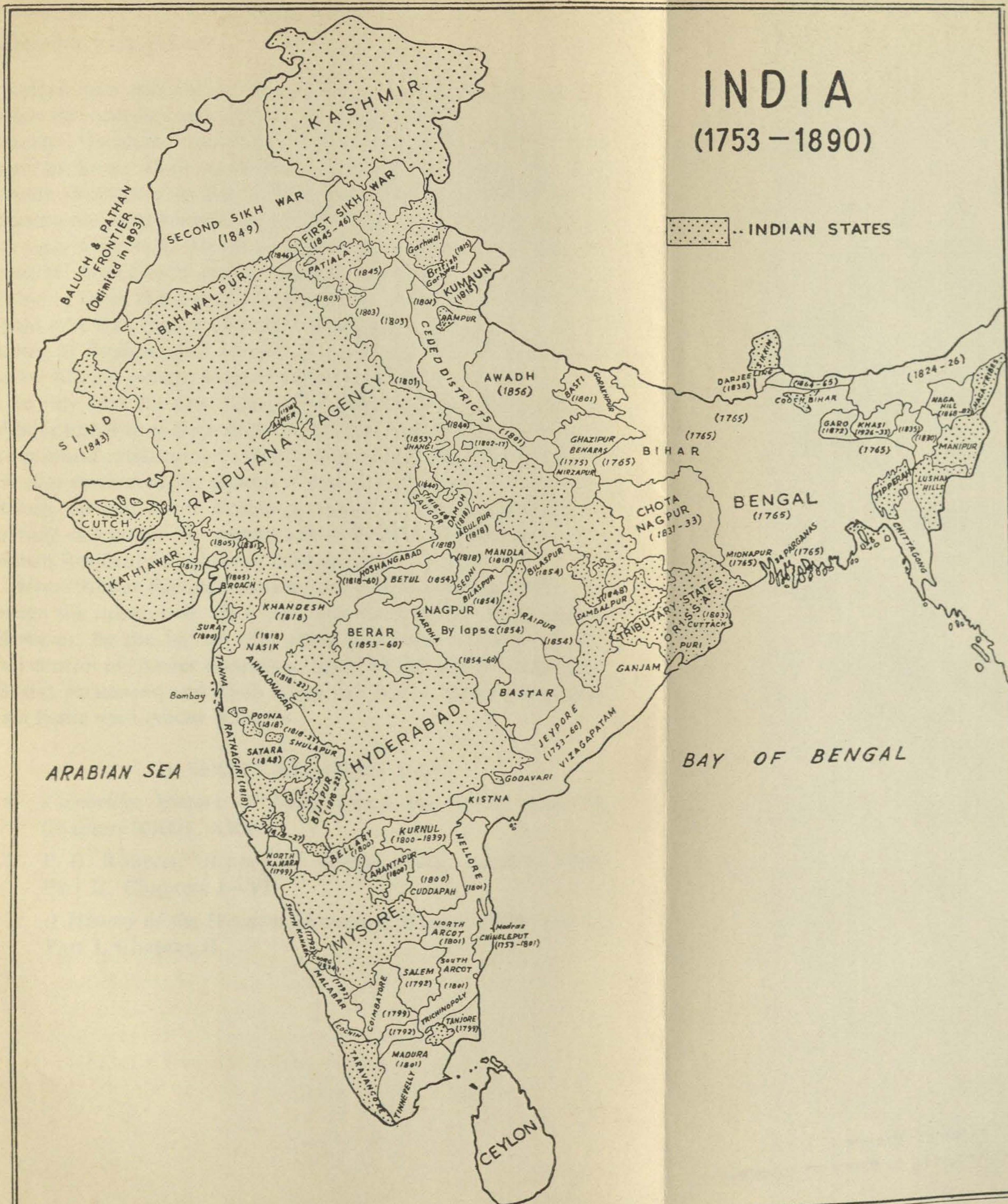
Second Afghan War

Empowered to offer Sher 'Ali most of the terms he had asked for in 1873 provided he allowed a British Resident to be stationed at Herat, Lytton had been sent to India to inaugurate a new Afghan policy. Early in 1877 at a conference at Peshawar with Sir Lewis Pelly, Sher Ali's Minister, Sayyid Nur Muhammad, refused to agree to the posting of a British officer in Afghanistan as it would be abhorrent to the Afghans and would weaken the position of the Amir himself. Lytton was, from the beginning, working for the "gradual disintegration and weakening of the Afghan power". He had secured the occupation of Quetta by a treaty with the Khan of Kalat concluded in 1876 which gave the British access to the Bolan Pass, one of the principal gateways to Afghanistan. By a confidential arrangement with the Maharaja

of Kashmir, he now established a British agency at Gilgit. In 1878 a Russian officer, General Stoleitoff, arrived in Kabul with a draft treaty recognizing, 'Abdullah Jan as Amir's heir and offering assistance in case of foreign aggression. With the approval of the Home Government, Lytton now insisted on Sher 'Ali's acceptance of an English mission. The urgency of this demand was far from apparent. Stoleitoff left Kabul when he came to know that the British intended to send a mission. However, in September, Lytton despatched a mission to Kabul under Neville Chamberlain.

The repulse of the mission at, Ali Masjid, a lonely post at the entrance of the Khyber Pass, was followed by the British invasion of Afghanistan in November 1878. The British armies advanced through three different routes. Browne through the Khyber Pass, Roberts through Kurram valley and Stewart through the Bolan Pass. Qandahar and Jalalabad were easily occupied. Having failed to get any help from General Kaufmann Sher 'Ali fled into Russian Turkestan. He died early in 1879 and in the following May peace was made with his son Y'aqub Khan by the Treaty of Gandamak. Yaqub Khan agreed to cede the districts of Kurram, Pishin and Sibi to the British, to conduct his relations with other states in accordance with the advice and wishes of the Governor-General of British India, and to maintain a permanent British Resident at Kabul. In return the British engaged to pay Y'aqub an annual subsidy of six lakhs of rupees and to support him against foreign attack.

This easy surrender by Y'aqub Khan was not liked by the Afghans. Within six weeks of his arrival in Kabul the British Resident, Sir Louis Cavagnari, was murdered with the whole of his escort. This led to a renewal of British invasion. Donald Stewart reoccupied Qandahar. Roberts once more marched through the Kurram valley and occupied Kabul on 7 October. Y'aqub Khan was removed to India as a state prisoner where he died in 1923. Afghanistan now practically relapsed into anarchy. There was no government left with which the British could negotiate peace. In the winter there was fierce fighting in Kabul and Roberts was besieged at Sherpur by 100,000 tribesmen. Lytton's Afghan policy had broken down. Its web, as he wrote, "so carefully and so patiently woven, has been rudely shattered".



INDIA
(1753 – 1890)
INDIAN STATES
KASHMIR
BALUCH & PATHAN FRONTIER (Delimited in 1893)
SECOND SIKH WAR (1849)
FIRST SIKH WAR (1845-46)
PATIALA
Garhwal
British Garhwal
KUMAUN (1815)
BAHAWALPUR
RAMPUR
CEDED DISTRICTS (1801)
AWADH (1856)
BASTI (1801)
GORAKHPUR
SIND (1843)
RAJPUTANA AGENCY
AJMER
JHANSI
GHAZIPUR
BENARAS
(1775)
(1765)
MIRZAPUR
BIHAR
(1765)
DARJEELING (1838)
SIKKIM
COOCH BIHAR
(1824-26)
NAGA HILL
NAGA TRIBES
GARO (1873)
KHASI
MANIPUR
TIPPERAH
LUSHAI HILLS
BENGAL (1765)
CHITTAGONG
CUTCH
KATHIAWAR
SAUGOR
DAMOH
JABULPUR (1818)
MANDLA (1818)
CHOTA NAGPUR (1831-33)
MIDNAPUR (1765)
24 PARGANAS (1765)
HOSHANGABAD (1818-60)
BETUL (1854)
SEONI
BILASPUR (1854)
BROACH
KHANDESH (1818)
NAGPUR
By lapse (1854)
WARDHA
RAIPUR (1854)
SAMBALPUR
TRIBUTARY STATES
ORISSA
CUTTACK
PURI
SURAT
NASIK
BERAR (1853-60)
BASTAR
GANJAM
TANNA
AHMADNAGAR
Bombay
POONA (1818)
SHULAPUR
SATARA (1848)
HYDERABAD
JEYPORE (1753-60)
VIZAGAPATAM
BAY OF BENGAL
ARABIAN SEA
RATNAGIRI (1818)
BIJAPUR
GODAVARI
KISTNA
KURNUL (1800-1839)
BELLARY (1800)
NELLORE (1801)
NORTH KANARA (1799)
ANANTAPUR
(1800) CUDDAPAH
SOUTH KANARA
MYSORE
NORTH ARCOT (1801)
Madras
CHINGLEPUT (1753-1801)
COORG
MALABAR
SALEM (1792)
SOUTH ARCOT (1801)
COIMBATORE
TRICHINOPOLY
TANJORE (1799)
COCHIN
TRAVANCORE
MADURA (1801)
TINNEVELLY
CEYLON

Lytton now embarked upon a policy of disintegrating Afghanistan by recognizing different chiefs in different parts of the country. Qandahar was handed over to an independent chief Sher 'Ali Khan; while Ayub Khan, a son of Amir Sher 'Ali, had already established himself in Herat. Kabul was still to be assigned to some one. In the beginning of 1880, 'Abdur Rahman, a nephew of Amir Sher 'Ali, who had long been in Russian Turkestan, came to Afghanistan and proclaimed his right to the throne of Kabul. Lytton decided to recognize him as Amir. But before he could take that step, a Liberal ministry under Gladstone came to power in England and Lytton, knowing the Liberal opposition to his Afghan policy, resigned without waiting for recall.

In July 1880 the new Viceroy Lord Ripon formally recognized 'Abdur Rahman as Amir of Kabul. 'Abdur Rahman agreed to have no political relations with any foreign power except the English. He also confirmed the cession of Kurram, Sibi and Pishin to the British. In return the British promised to pay him an annual subsidy and bound themselves not to demand the admission of a British Resident anywhere in Afghanistan.

When 'Abdur Rahman came to power in Kabul, Qandahar was under the control of Sher 'Ali and Herat under Ayub Khan. However, by the fall of 1881 these territories had come under full control of 'Abdur Rahman as Sher 'Ali had abdicated through British persuasion and Ayub Khan had fled to Persia after defeat in a battle with Abdur Rahman.

A SHORT READING LIST

1. *Cambridge History of India*, Cambridge, 1932; Vol. VI, Chapters XXIII, XXV.
2. P. E. Roberts, *History of British India*, London, 1958; Part II, Chapters I—VI.
3. *A History of the Freedom Movement*, Karachi, 1960; Vol. II, Part I, Chapter II.

CHAPTER IX

Beginnings of Muslim Nationalism

The War of 1857 resulted in the complete annihilation of the Muslim political power in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. Far-reaching changes took place in the social and economic conditions of the Muslims in the succeeding years. The British held them mainly responsible for the war and subjected them to a great deal of suppression and humiliation. This situation greatly influenced the development of Muslim social and political movements in the second half of the nineteenth century. The plight of the Muslims under the rule of the Company has been described in a previous chapter.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan

The social and economic conditions of the Muslims after the War of 1857 were extremely depressing. Their re-emergence as a respectable community in the country needed the guidance of one who understood the problems created by loss of independence and who could also lead his co-religionists in a fruitful direction. Such a guidance came from Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898),

the most important Muslim leader in the subcontinent in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Sir Syed was convinced that the first requisite for the regeneration of the Muslims was the establishment of cordial relations between them and the British rulers. After the restoration of peace he worked indefatigably to remove the impression, widespread among the ruling class, that the Muslims were primarily responsible for the war. With this end in view he wrote in 1858 a treatise known as *Risalah Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind* (The Causes of the Indian Revolt). In this treatise he endeavoured to prove that the War of 1857 was not a planned affair, and that the Muslim share in it was not greater than that of the Hindus, although at certain places their opposition to the British troops was stronger. The original cause of the war, he stated, was the non-admission of Indians into the Legislative Council so that the Government remained ignorant of the feelings of the people about the laws and regulations under which they lived. Moreover, it deprived the people of the 'means of protesting against what they might feel a foolish measure, or of giving public expression to their own wishes'. If some sons of the soil had been included in the Legislative Council, they would have kept the rulers informed of the trends of public opinion. It was as a result of Sir Syed's suggestion that the first steps were taken under the Indian Councils Act of 1861 for associating Indians with the legislative work of the Government.

The *Asbab* was not published until many years after the War of 1857. All its printed copies, excepting the one retained by the author himself and the one sent to the Government of India, were despatched to members of the British Parliament. Its influence, was, therefore, limited. On the other hand, most of the English writers and journalists continued to express the opinion that the Muslims were the most inveterate enemies of British rule and that they should be suppressed with a strong hand. Sir Syed now commenced the publication of a series of pamphlets, *The Loyal Muhammadans of India*. Wherein he drew the attention of the critics to the services of such Muslim families as had saved, during the period of the war, the lives of many English men, women and children, at the risk of their own lives. He also pointed out that the followers of Islam were not opposed

to Christians; they were rather bound by their faith to be friendly towards them.

Sir Syed's desire to establish cordial relations between the Muslims and their Christian rulers led him to write a commentary on the Bible known as *Tabyin-ul-Kalam*, which developed into a scholarly work on comparative religion. His chief object in preparing this commentary was to remove such suspicions from the minds of the members of the two communities as had hindered their co-operation in the past, 'to bring out points on which genuine Islam and pure Christianity agree, to establish an enlightened concordance between the two, and to show that both these faiths are two harmonious phases of the religious ideal, and, as such, can and ought to influence the human mind in the same direction'.

In 1868, Sir Syed produced a documented pamphlet, *Risalah Ahkam-i-Ta'am-i-Ahl-i-Kitab*. The Muslims had, under the influence of Hindu custom, come to believe that it was not lawful to eat with Christians. This hindered Anglo-Muslim social intercourse, so important for the improvement of their relations. The *Ahkam* was written to dispel this notion. It sought to prove that the Muslims are allowed, with the exception of things prohibited by the *Shari'ah*, the food of the people of the Scriptures and that their religion did not forbid them from eating at the same table as the 'People of the Book'.

Sir Syed's efforts bore fruit and by the end of the 1860s not only did the British begin to feel that a suppressive attitude towards the Muslims was no more administratively advisable but a considerable section of the Muslims also began to realize that without learning English and acquiring knowledge of Western arts and sciences they would continue to remain backward.

Sir Syed now embarked upon a new educational programme for his community. He also had realized that no progress was possible under the British without a good knowledge of English and proper acquaintance with western arts and sciences. In 1863 he founded a school at Ghazipur that included English as a regular subject in its curriculum. Next year he founded a translation society which was later moved to Aligarh and named as the Scientific Society. The chief object of this Society was to get standard English works translated into Urdu so as to make it

possible for the Muslims to get acquainted with the latest developments of Western thought. The Society was also to serve as a platform where Indians and Englishmen could meet and talk over subjects of common interest. Within a few years of its establishment the Society had several English works rendered into Urdu. Among them were Elphinstone's *History of India,* Rollen's *History of Ancient Egypt,* Malcolm's *History of Persia* and many other works on political economy, agriculture and chemistry.

The British Indian Association, Aligarh

In May 1866 Sir Syed called a meeting of eminent residents of Aligarh and made a move for the establishment of an association representing all parts of the North-Western Provinces to bring to the notice of the British Government the feelings of the people with regard to the laws and regulations enforced by British administration. The suggestion was accepted and the British Indian Association, Aligarh, was formed with Raja Jaikishandas as president and Sir Syed as secretary. The constitution of the Association provided that all respectable individuals, irrespective of race and creed, "permanently settled in India, and all foreigners resident in the country" would be eligible for its membership. It also provided for the establishment of branch associations in the North-Western Provinces and for co-operation with similar associations.

The British Indian Association was perhaps the first joint Hindu-Muslim organization that envisaged the development of a common outlook towards Indian problems and towards the relations of the people with their rulers. But it flourished only for a year. The only work of importance it did was the submission to the Government of India of an elaborate scheme for the establishment of a vernacular university in the North-Western Provinces.

Beginning of the Urdu-Hindi Controversy

The Urdu language had developed as a common language of the Hindus and the Muslims of the North-Western Provinces and some other parts of the subcontinent and was, in the absence of a common religion, the only binding force between the members of the two communities. In 1867 some prominent Hindus of

Banaras started a movement for the replacement of Urdu by Hindi written in the Nagiri script as the court language in the North Western Provinces. They regarded Urdu as a language of Muslim origin representing Muslim rather than Hindu culture. Within a few months numerous associations advocating the claims of Hindi sprang up all over the North-Western Provinces with a central organisation at Allahabad and started a sharp controversy between the supporters of Urdu and Hindi on the merits and demerits of each language and the Persian and Nagiri scripts. A section of the Hindu press also demanded that in the proposed vernacular university for the North-Western Provinces the medium of instruction should be Hindi for Hindus. This development caused deep disappointment to Sir Syed as it manifested a sectional spirit to divide the Hindu and Muslim communities permanently. The effect it had on the working of Sir Syed's mind is described by Hali in *Hayat-i-Jawed* in Sir Syed's own words. Hali writes: "In 1867 some influential Hindus of Banaras started the campaign that Urdu written in Persian script should be discontinued in law courts and that in its place Hindi, written in Deva Nagiri Script, be introduced. It was the first occasion that Ahmed Khan realised it to be impossible for the Hindus and Muslims to progress as a single nation and for anyone to work for both of them simultaneously". He said: "During the days when this controversy was going on in Banaras, I had an occasion to meet Mr. Shakespeare who was posted there as the Divisional Commissioner. I said to him something about the education of the Muslims which he listened to with an expression of amazement in his face and remarked: 'This is the first occasion that I have heard you speak about the education of Muslims alone. Heretofore you always talked of the welfare of the Indians in general'. I replied that I was convinced that the two communities would never be able to join in anything wholeheartedly. At that time hostility between them appeared to be imperceptible but as time passed it would increase on account of those who were called educated. Mr. Shakespeare said that he would be very sorry if my prophecy proved to be true. I assured him that I was myself very sorry but was convinced that it would prove true".

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's chief concern was the regeneration of the Muslim community. After the beginning of the Hindu movement against Urdu we find him mainly devoted to the cause of Muslim education and opposed to the idea of Muslim participation in politics.

The Aligarh College

In 1869 Sir Syed went to England and stayed there for a year and a half. During this period he closely studied the British educational system. He also made a thorough study of the residential life and the system of instruction at Cambridge and came to the conclusion that education on similar lines alone could enable the Muslim youth to keep pace with members of other communities in the struggle for existence. After his return to the subcontinent in 1870, he set up a committee, called the Committee Striving after the Educational Progress of the Muslims, to find out the causes of Muslim backwardness in education and suggest remedies. As a result of opinions expressed in essays invited on the subject, it was inferred that: "(a) the Muslim attitude towards Western education had undergone a marked change. The former opposition had practically died down. The parents were now much more willing to send their children to public schools than was the case a generation before; (b) the curriculum of Government-maintained schools did not meet the educational requirements of the Muslim community. It was distasteful to the parents because it made no provision for moral and religious instruction; (c) the Muslims could not depend upon the Government to satisfy their educational needs. The responsibitity for educating its youth rested with the community itself."

In a detailed report on Muslim education the Committee proposed to establish a college at Aligarh to be known as the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College. Sir Syed was nominanated secretary of its managing committee. A vigorous campaign was started to collect funds for the college. Sir Syed himself made tour after tour throughout the subcontinent to make the Muslims realize the need of higher education on Western lines and win support for his plans. While efforts were being made to raise subscriptions, opposition to the scheme also

became strong. It expressed the fear that the new system of education and dissemination of the unorthodox religious ideas of Sir Syed in the proposed college would turn the young Muslim students away from their religion. The College Fund Committee decided, therefore, to establish a model school to show that the new educational methods proposed to be adopted by the institution were not opposed to the principles of Islam. In May 1875, the M.A.O. School was opened. Within less than two years came into being the M.A.O. College. Its foundation stone was laid by Governor-General Lytton on 8 January 1877.

In a few years the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, developed into a fine residential institution in which special attention was paid to character-building. The principal and the professors resided within the precincts of the College and maintained constant contact with their pupils. The students were asked to wear a special uniform consisting of a black Turkish coat, white trousers and a fez. Religious education was made compulsory for Muslim students and all the Muslim boarders were required to pray five times a day and, but for a reasonable excuse, to fast in the month of Ramazan.

With the establishment of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh became the centre of the Muslim social, cultural and educational activity. Here Muslim students not only got instruction in modern arts and sciences but also developed a feeling of oneness on account of their cultural unity and religious identity.

Nawab Abdul Latif

The educational mission which Syed Ahmed Khan began in northern India was started in Bengal by Nawab Abdul Latif who was born in 1828 in the district of Faridpur now situated in East Pakistan. His family traced its descent to the celebrated Muslim general Khalid bin Walid. He was educated at the Calcutta Madrasah where, a few yars after completing his education, he became professor of Arabic. In 1849 he was appointed Deputy Magistrate by the Government of Bengal. For some time he acted as the Presidency Magistrate in Calcutta. He was appointed Member of the newly created Bengal Legislative Council and was the first Muslim to sit in a legislative council. In 1863 he was made a Fellow of Calcutta University. He held several im-

portant public positions till his retirement in 1887. He was often consulted by the Government on matters concerning Muslim interests.

Distressed at the position into which the Muslims had fallen after the war of 1857, Abdul Latif set himself from the early 1860's "to combat prejudices that prevented them from moving with the times and adapting themselves to altered conditions". In April 1863 he founded the Muhammadan Literary Society of Calcutta with the object of (i) awakening in the Muslims "a desire to interest themselves in Western learning and progress", and (ii) bringing to the notice of the rulers the requirements of the Muslims 'in regard to education, legislation and other cognate objects', bearing upon their interests.

The Society met once a week at the residence of Nawab Abdul Latif and discussed matters concerning the moral and material progress of the Muslims. Eminent European and Indian scholars read papers at its meetings and delivered lectures on various scientific, social and literary subjects. Before the establishment of the translation society at Ghazipur, Syed Ahmed Khan found in the Muhammadan Literary Society the first public platform where he expressed his views on the dissemination of Western knowledge in the subcontinent.

The lectures delivered and discussions held at the meetings of the Muhammadan Literary Society played an important part in arousing Muslim interest in Western education and in bringing home to them that in order 'to keep pace with other nationalities' of India their children should no longer be deprived of instruction in modern sciences and arts.

The Society stood for full co-operation with the British and regarded India as *Dar-ul-Islam* in which it was incumbent upon the Muslims to behave as loyal citizens. It also got the Mohsin Fund restored to its original use. Endowed by Haji Muhammad Mohsin (1730-1812) to promote the cause of Muslim education in Bengal, the income from this Fund had been diverted to the benefit of non-Muslims. As a result of the efforts of the Muhammadan Literary Society the Government agreed to put an end to this practice.

The Muhammadan Literary Society was considered by the Government to be a representative body of educated Muslim

opinion in Bengal and was, on several occasions, invited to express its views on questions concerning Muslim law and usage. It did a lot of good to the Muslims of Bengal by developing in them a sense of organized effort for their moral and material progress. Before the establishment of the Central National Muhammadan Association, it was the only organized Muslim body in Bengal that made representations to the Government from time to time on behalf of the Muslims.

Hindu religious and political movements

The rise of the British introduced Western ideas into the subcontinent. Under the impact of these ideas people's belief in Hinduism was considerably undermined. The first movement in response to this challenge was the Brahma Samaj founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833) in 1828. It aimed at meeting European criticism of Hinduism by reforming it. Ram Mohan Roy preached the unity of God, and disapproved of the prevalent Hindu belief in many gods and worship of idols. He arranged in a specially built house the 'non-sectarian' worship of one God. However, he "never regarded himself as anything but a Hindu, and stoutly denied, up to the last day of his life, the allegation that he was founding a different sect. The detailed programme of his weekly service in what was then called Brahma Sabha included the recitation of the *Veda*s by orthodox Brahmins and no non-Brahmin was allowed in the room. The Raja himself wore the sacred thread of the Brahmins up to his death".

After the death of Ram Mohan Roy, the doctrines of the Samaj were developed by Devendranath Tegore who joined it in 1843 and rose to be its head. The movement was further developed and modified by Keshab Chandra Sen who, unlike its early exponents, advocated female education, "widow remarriage and equality in the religious sphere".

Although the movement was confined to a small number of intellectuals, it created a new class of educated Bengalis who later took active part in political movements.

The Arya Samaj

A movement which gave birth to a violent Hindu reaction to foreign influences, old and new, was started in Bombay by

Dayananda Saraswati in 1875 who visualized an India in which people belonging to the faiths of foreign origin, i.e., Islam and Christianity, had no place. He called the Hindus back to the ancient faith and "stirred them up to vehement opposition" to Christianity and Islam. He also began the *Shuddhi* movement for the conversion of non-Hindus, particularly Muslims of Hindu origin, to Hinduism. In 1882, he formed a cow-protection society "to rouse Hindu feeling against Christians and Muhammadans on account of the killing of cows and oxen", which presented to the Government a memorial signed by some twenty to thirty million Hindus asking for the prohibition of cow-slaughter. Dayananda did not live long to pursue this project himself but his movement evoked an anti-Muslim feeling among the Hindus and proved to to be one of the major causes of Hindu-Muslim riots in the subcontinent. In the 1890s, B.G. Tilak "made it one of his most potent tools" to excite the religious sentiments of the Hindu masses against the Muslims.

The Indian Association

A Hindu political organization known as the Indian Association came into being in Calcutta in 1876. It was established by a few educated Bengali Hindus led by Babu Surendranath Benerjea, who had, by the study of English literature and European history, imbibed the Western notions of "democracy and national patriotism". The Association marked the beginning of an organized movement and symbolized the political awakening of educated middle class Hindus of Bengal. It was, in fact, the forerunner of the Indian National Congress. However, it did not attract much attention outside Bengal except when the Government decided in 1877 to reduce the maximum age limit for the Indian Civil Service competitive examination from 21 to 19. It agitated against this decision by organizing public meetings in many important cities of the subcontinent.

The Central National Muhammadan Association

The Muslims were conspicuous by their absence from the Indian Association. On the other hand, a Muslim political organisation came into being in Calcutta just one year after the establishment of the Indian Association. This was the

Central National Muhammadan Association founded by Sayed Ameer Ali (1849-1928) in 1877. Deriving its inspiration from the "noble tradition of the past", it proposed to work in harmony with Western culture and progressive tendencies of the age. It aimed at the political regeneration of the Muslims "by a moral revival and by constant endeavours to obtain from the Government a recognition of their just and reasonable claims".

Within a few years of its existence, the Association had established its branches in almost all important Muslim centres of the country. Like other political and social organizations of the period it drew its members mainly from the upper and middle class Muslims. Anyhow, it represented a considerable section of the politically conscious Muslims and held among them almost the same position as the Indian Association did among the Hindus.

The Central National Muhammadan Association worked for Muslim solidarity, but it did not entertain any feeling of hostility towards either the existing non-Muslim organizations or the non-Muslim communities. The non-Muslims were free to join and were entitled to vote on all matters excepting those that concerned the Muslims exclusively.

This Association was the first Muslim political body organized to represent the Muslims of the subcontinent as a whole. It made representations to the Imperial and Local Governments on several occasions and put before them the needs and requirements of the Muslim community. In 1882 it presented to Viceroy Ripon, a memorial which dealt exhaustively with the problems of Muslim education and with Muslim grievances regarding their meagre representation in Government offices. It paid keen attention to all legislative measures insofar as these related to the social, political and religious interests of the Muslims. Towards the end of 1883 it presented its views to the Government of Bengal on the pending Municipal Bill and suggested a "lowering of property qualifications to enfranchise a larger number of Muslims and the insertion of a provision in the Bill empowering the Government to allow the minority to elect its own representatives where the state of intercommunal feeling indicated the desirability of this expedient. The object of this suggestion was to secure for the Muslims a fair representation on

Municipal Boards. The Association warned the Government that, if enacted in the form in which it had been introduced, the Bill would damage Muslim interests by excluding the community from Municipal Boards and would become one of the major causes of friction between them and the Hindus. Later events showed that the Association had assessed the situation correctly.

The Central National Muhammadan Association continued to work for the protection of Muslim interests even after 1885. However, its importance was overshadowed by the activities of the Aligarh leaders who, under the forceful leadership of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, became the most forhrtight exponents of Muslim rights after the birth of the Indian National Congress.

The Indian National Congress

The decade following the appointment of Lord Lytton as Governor-General in 1876 was full of events that had a disturbing effect on the educated middle classes. In 1877 the maximum age-limit for the civil service examination was reduced from twenty-one to nineteen. Surendranath Banerjea's Indian Association organized a strong protest meeting against it in Calcutta. Banerjea toured the North-West Provinces and the Panjab and organized similar meetings in Agra, Allahabad, Lucknow, Banaras, Meerut, Aligarh, Cawnpore, Delhi, Amritsar and Lahore. This agitation was followed up by a stronger one against the Vernacular Press Act (passed in 1878) that imposed restrictions only on the Indian languages press and not on newspapers published in English. This discrimination became a serious grievance against the government.

The resentment created by the Vernacular Press Act had hardly subsided after its repeal in 1882 by Lord Ripon's Government when the controversy over the Ilbert Bill greatly stirred up race hatred between the rulers and the ruled. By an enactment of 1873 a British European subject could be tried only by a European magistrate or sessions judge. When in 1883 C.P. Ilbert, the Law Member of the Viceroy's Council, introduced a bill in the Council to enable Indian sessions judges to try Europeans, as had been the practice in the Presidency towns, the Indian-British community started a fierce and persistent

agitation against the measure. The Hindu educated classes gave it enthusiastic support. However, the Government ultimately bowed to the agitation by extending to the European accused the privilege of demanding trial by a jury half of whose members would be Europeans or Americans.

The discontent that followed the success of European agitation against Ilbert's proposal to abolish judicial disqualifications based on race distinctions gave rise to a strong sense of resentment among the educated classes and resulted in the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885.

The Indian National Congress was founded on the initiative of A.O. Hume, a retired member of the Civil Service, and was supported from the very beginning by a group of Englishmen, including Sir William Wedderburn, George Yule and Charles Bradlaugh. The Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, himself was favourably disposed towards this organization. In fact, it was at his suggestion that this body was given the form of a political association. Hume believed that India's basic ailments were social and economic and that it needed a forum for the discussion of socio-economic rather than political questions. He consulted Lord Dufferin who was keen to help its evolution into a responsible and loyal opposition. Lord Dufferin's opinion prevailed and the Congress came into being as a political body with the full approval of the Government.

The Muslim and the Hindu Nationalism

Hindu nationalism in its organized form began with the birth of the Indian National Congress. This body, having been founded with the stated purpose of combining all elements of the Indian population into one national whole, claimed to represent all the Indian communities. However, the Muslim community was almost completely opposed to it.

The introduction of representative government in India was the chief aim of the Congress. The reform of legislative councils became its demand from its very inception. Thus it advocated expansion and enlargement of legislatures "by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members" and suggested that the right to elect members of the provincial councils should be "conferred only on those classes and members of the com-

munity" as were "*prima facie* capable of exercising it wisely and independently" such as members of municipalities, district boards, chambers of commerce and universities, or persons possessing "educational or pecuniary qualifications". With regard to the elected members of the Governor-General's Council the Congress suggested that the right to elect its members should be vested in the elected members of the several provincial councils.

The Congress also demanded that all posts (excluding peonships and the like) in government departments should be filled through competitive examinations.

The Muslims regarded these demands as detrimental to their interests. They were backward in Western education and were not able to compete with the Hindus for government appointments. They were too poor to be enrolled as voters if franchise was based on property qualifications. They would not get proper representation in the legislative councils, if the right to vote was confined to the members of municipalities, district boards, chambers of commerce and universities as these bodies were dominated by the Hindus. If the Congress demands were accepted, the Muslims would be condemned to perpetual subjection to a Hindu majority. They were, therefore, advised by their leaders like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Syed Ameer Ali and Nawab Abdul Latif to keep aloof from the Congress and devote themselves to the promotion of their distinct social, cultural and political interests.

It was Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who proved to be the most determined opponent of the Congress movement and led his community away from it. The anti-Muslim feelings of the Hindus, which found a vehement expression in the Urdu-Hindi controversy started by the Hindus of Banaras in 1867, had convinced him that if the Hindus were enthroned in the seat of authority they would not allow the Muslims to lead even a humble life in the country. He was, therefore, opposed to any development that would allow the Hindus to dominate the Muslims.

Very few Muslims attended the first two sessions of the Congress. Sir Syed was not, therefore, involved in an open conflict with this body during the first two years of its life. He had found-

ed in 1886 the Muhammadan Educational Conference, not to oppose the Congress but to keep the attention of the Muslims focussed on their social and educational problems. But from the time of the third session of the Congress, held in Madras in December 1887, events forced him to step into the political arena and come out openly against the Congress movement. A strong section of the British press pointed out that unless the Congress received considerable support from the Muslims, its national character would remain doubtful. The organisers of the Madras Congress, therefore, invited a Bombay Muslim, Badrud-din Tyebji, to preside over its deliberations and succeeded in bringing among that year's delegates 75 Muslims including some Muslim students of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh. Sir Syed was much alarmed at this development as it helped the Congress to establish its claims for being a representative national body. Just one day after the Congress had started its deliberations at Madras, Sir Syed delivered a public speech in Lucknow advising his co-religionists to keep away from the Congress movement. Two and a half months later in a speech at Meerut he warned them against the disastrous consequences of joining the Congress. His argument centered round the inevitability of Hindu domination if Congress demands were accepted. He said that if the Congress demand for filling all posts, except a few minor ones, by competitive examinations were accepted, all Government offices, in every part of the country, would be monopolised by the Hindus who had had an early start in English education, and the Muslims would be sufferers. Speaking of the Congress demand for an elected legislative council, he said that whatever system of election was adopted there would be four times as many Hindus as Muslims. This would lead to the control of the government by the Hindus and was sure to lead to the degradation of the Muslim community.

It is important to note that Sir Syed's attitude towards the Congress was not based on any sentiment of hatred or dislike towards the Hindu community. Nor was it indicative of his opposition to the inclusion of Indians in the legislatures. During the years following the war of 1857 his personal relations with the Hindus had been cordial. His Scientific Society and British Indian Association included both Hindus and Muslims as

members. His College, established to meet the educational requirements of his own community, kept its doors open to the Hindus and out of regard for them prohibited cow-slaughter within its precincts. He had strongly supported the admission of Indians to the councils and had advocated the acceptance of this principle as early as 1858 in his treatise.

The Causes of the Indian Revolt

Again, at the time of laying the foundation of the Ghazipur school in 1864, he expressed satisfaction at the decision of the Government, embodied in the Indian Councils Act of 1861, to include Indians in the Viceroy's Council and hoped that one day that Council would be composed of representatives from every division or district. It was, in fact, the demand that Indian members of the councils should be appointed by election which became the principal reason for his opposition to the Congress movement. He knew that India was inhabited by peoples of different religions and cultures who could not keep their political ideas and aspirations uninfluenced by religious considerations. In a situation like this, therefore, the introduction of the principle of election in an unqualified form would only mean representation of the views and interests of a religious majority and would adversely affect the smaller community.

Sir Syed's criticism of the Congress and the growing support of the Muslim community to his views was a matter of no little concern to the Congress. However, it did not evoke among Congress leaders any desire to consider the Muslim question from any angle except their own. Nor did they show any inclination towards taking practical steps to allay the Muslim fear of Hindu domination. On the contrary, they continued claiming that the Congress enjoyed the support of a considerable number of Muslims who shared its views. Sir Syed decided to take an effective step to counteract this propaganda. Early in August 1888, he issued an appeal to the Muslims and the Hindu opponents of the Congress, to join together to counteract the 'false impression' that the Congress movement drew support from the various peoples of India and to make known to the British public that besides the Muslims, many influential and powerful

Hindus, were also opposed to it. A few days later he laid the foundation of the Indian Patriotic Association. This Association consisted of both Hindu and Muslim members. Its objects were : "(1) To publish and circulate pamphlets and other papers for the information of members of Parliament, English journals and the people of Great Britain, in which those mis-statements will be pointed out by which the supporters of the Indian National Congress have wrongly attempted to convince the English people that all the nations of India and the Indian chiefs and rulers agree with the aims and objects of the National Congress; (2) To inform members of Parliament and the newspapers of Great Britain and its people by the same means of the opinions of Muhammadans, of the Islamia Anjumans, and those Hindus, and their societies which are opposed to the objects of the National Congress".

Over 40 Anjumans in various parts of the country got themselves affiliated to the Patriotic Association. Although the Association was short-lived, mainly because of Sir Syed's inability to devote proper attention to it, it made a good deal of effective propaganda to disprove the claim of the Congress to represent all sections of the Indian population.

In 1889 the Muslim opposition to the Congress demands appeared within the Congress itself. When a resolution on the expansion and reform of legislative councils came up for discussion, some Muslim delegates demanded that the number of Muslim members in the Imperial and provincial councils should always be equal to that of the Hindus. The refusal of the Congress to accept this principle resulted in the withdrawal from it of many Muslims who had joined it recently.

This development within the Congress seems to have served two important purposes. First, it showed that the Congress point of view was not fully shared by many Muslims even within that body. Secondly, it made the Congress unpopular even among those Muslims who were against Sir Syed for his unorthodox religious ideas and had joined the Congress simply to indicate their opposition to the Aligarh School. But what was extremely important at that juncture was to make known to the British Government the feelings of the Muslim community about the question of representation which was to be dealt with

in a bill intended to be introduced in parliament. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan did this through a petition signed by nearly 40,000 Muslim inhabitants of about 70 cities and towns and submitted to the House of Commons through Richard Temple. A similar petition was sent to Parliament by the Muhammadan Literary Society of Calcutta.

The Indian Councils Act of 1892

The Congress case for reform of the councils was taken up by Governor-General Dufferin. His successor, Lansdowne, also supported it in long despatches to London. But it was only in 1892 that another Indian Council Act was passed. This Act represented a distinct improvement on the Act of 1861. It enlarged the legislative councils and extended their functions. In the Imperial Council the number of additional members was fixed between ten and sixteen, of whom not more than six were to be officials. As to the legislatures of Madras and Bombay the additional members were to be not less than eight and more than twenty, while the number of members of the councils of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces was to be raised to twenty and fifteen respectively. The Act allowed members to discuss the budget and offer suggestions for its improvement. The introduction of interpellation allowed the members to put questions to the executive about its administrative acts.

The Act also made room for an elective element in the councils and thus partly fulfilled the Congress demands. The members were, in theory, nominated by the head of the Government, but regulations were made under the Act by which some of the seats on each council were to be filled by representatives of different bodies and interests, such as corporations, municipalities, district boards, associations of land-holders, universities and chambers of commerce. The system was not strictly a system of election, for the elective bodies could only recommend their representatives to the Head of the Government for nomination. In practice, however, nomination was never refused. The privilege of selecting the Indian members for the Imperial Legislative Council was conferred upon the Legislative Councils of Madras, Bombay, Bengal and the North-Western Provinces and Oudh (Awadh) and upon the Bengal Chamber of Commerce.

The privilege to select and recommend members for the Bengal Legislative Council was bestowed upon the Corporation of Calcutta, the Senate of the University, trade associations and groups of municipalities and corporations. Rules on similar lines were drawn up for Madras, Bombay and the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

This system opened the door for the election of politicians to the Imperial as well as provincial councils. Many Congress leaders managed from now on to sit on these Councils. The Muslims, however, did not feel happy about this system as it did not provide them with any safeguards and appeared to increase the influence and prestige of the Hindus who had already surpassed them in education and economic advancement. The growing communal strife between the Muslims and the Hindus had made the situation more depressing for the former. A strong feeling of revivalism was growing among the Hindus from the 1870s as a result of Dyananda Saraswati's Arya Samaj movement which began in Bombay and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's literary movement which began in Bengal and identified nationalism with the Hindu religion. From 1893 this feeling began to develop in the form of militant Hindu nationalism under B.G. Tilak and tended to create a desperate situation for the Muslims if they did not get their due share in the councils of the Government. They had been, until after the passage of the Indian Councils Act of 1892, emphasising their disapproval of the elective principle. They now decided to secure such a modification of the existing rules of election as would give them a reasonable representation in legislative councils and local bodies. In 1896 a scheme was put forward by Sir Syed's son Syed Mahmud which stated that the Muslims were a community with separate traditions, interests, political convictions and religion and should, as such, get representation on local bodies and the Imperial and provincial councils by means of separate electorates. It also added that if the Congress agreed to this plan, the Muslims would be prepared to join it as a community. Since there could be no compromise between the Muslims and the Congress on this basic issue a definite movement towards Muslim nationalism began to take shape side by side with the Congress movement.

Sir Syed and the Khilafat Question

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan believed that bad feelings between the Muslims and the British would create a lot of difficulties for the former and would hamper their progress as a community. Growing Hindu antagonism towards the Muslims made it still more necessary for the latter to cultivate cordial relations with the British. When in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Pan-Islamic movement of Jamaluddin Afghani appeared to influence the Muslim mind and a feeling began to grow in favour of the view that the Sultan of Turkey, Abdul Hamid II, had, as the Caliph, the right to claim allegiance from Muslims living in all quarters of the world, Sir Syed felt perturbed lest the British should suspect the loyalty of the Muslims and again adopt a hostile attitude towards them. He declared that the Caliph-Sultan of Turkey enjoyed no spiritual authority over the Indian Muslims and advised his community to avoid straining their relations with their British rulers.

In the Graeco-Turkish War of 1897 Turkey inflicted a severe defeat on Greece. The Muslims in some parts of the subcontinent expressed great joy at the Turkish victory. Sir Syed advised restraint saying that the British attitude to the Graeco-Turkish war was not known and that, at any rate, it was unlikely that Britain should be opposed to Turkey. Even if it were so, the Muslims were bound to keep on good terms with their rulers. The most they could do was to pray to God that relations between Britain and the Muslim states like Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan should remain cordial ruling out all possibilities of conflict between them.

Although the spiritual attachment of Indian Muslims to the Caliph-Sultan of Turkey remained generally unaffected, Sir Syed's advice made the educated Muslims conscious of the peculiar political situation in the subcontinent and they became cautious in the expression of their feelings about Turkey and the Caliph.

A SHORT READING LIST

1. *A History of the Freedom Movement*, Karachi, 1961; Vol, II, Part II, Chapters XVII—XX

2, I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, The Hague, 1962; Chapter XII

CHAPTER X

Foundation of the Muslim League

The Urdu-Hindi controversy that began in Banaras in 1867 assumed formidable dimensions and became one of the major factors in determining Muslim attitude towards the rapidly changing socio-political conditions in the country. In November 1895 Sir Anthony MacDonnell became the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces. He was favourably disposed towards the Hindi language and the Nagri script. The anti-Urdu movement of the Hindus and their demand for the introduction of Hindi written in the Nagri script as the official language became, therefore, stronger in his period. Although the Lieutenant-Governor was in sympathy with the Hindu point of view, administrative considerations restrained him from introducing the change at once. However, he conceded the Hindu demand in April 1900 when his government issued a resolution declaring that Hindi written in the Nagri script would enjoy equal status with Urdu as the language of law courts in the provinces and that in the future only such persons would be appointed, except in a purely English office, to Government jobs who knew Urdu as well as Hindi.

The Hindus welcomed the resolution with gratitude. The Muslims, on the other hand, perceived in it the repetition of the situation that followed the change of official language in 1837 and resulted in their general exclusion from government offices. The Muslim press subjected the resolution to severe criticism. Protest meetings were also held against it in almost all important Muslim centres in the country. However, an organized movement against it was started by the Aligarh leaders. In August 1900 they established in Lucknow an Urdu Defence Association with Mohsin-ul-Mulk, secretary of the Aligarh College, as president and Hamid Ali Khan, Barrister, as secretary. The Association embarked upon an active campaign for the withdrawal of the resolution.

Although the Muslims kept their protests strictly within constitutional limits, they could not succeed in inducing MacDonnell to adopt a disinterested attitude towards the matter. He was displeased from the very beginning with the activities of the Muslims leading the movement against the resolution. Now he himself visited Aligarh and warned the trustees of the Aligarh College that if Mohsin-ul-Mulk continued as secretary of this institution as well as president of the Urdu Defence Association, the Government would be compelled to discontinue financial aid to the College. In view of the importance of the College, Mohsin-ul-Mulk had to give up the presidentship of the Association. As was anticipated, his withdrawal from the Association weakened the movement for the protection of Urdu and it could not be continued with the vigour with which it was started.

In 1901 Sir James La Touche took over the charge of the Government of the United Provinces. The new Governor did not continue the policy of his predecessor. He relieved the Muslims of a great deal of anxiety about the future of Urdu by showing interest in its development and by not insisting on strict compliance with the MacDonnell resolution.

Movement towards the establishment of an All-India Muslim Political Organization

As the Urdu-Hindi controversy developed the Muslims realized the need for a representative political organisation

to protect their interests and represent their views to the Government effectively. Another reason that made the establishment of such an organization necessary was the renewed Congress effort, after the death of Sir Syed, to wean the young educated Muslims from the political creed of the Aligarh School. The Central National Muhammadan Association still existed but its influence was limited to upper class Muslims. The Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association formed by Sir Syed in December 1893 to make known to the Government of India and the British people the feelings and interests of the Muslims, and to protect their political rights, had practically fizzled out. The annual sessions of the Muhammadan Educational Conference provided the only important platform to the Muslim community. A representative Muslim meeting held in Lucknow in October 1901 decided, therefore, to found a genuine all-India Muslim political association. Viqar-ul-Mulk was asked to establish district associations in different parts of the country which should later coalesce into a central organization. In 1903, Viqar-ul-Mulk established district associations in some parts of the United Provinces. But at the beginning of the next year he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. His work having been stopped, the formation of the proposed organization remained deferred till the establishment of the All-India Muslim League in 1906.

The Partition of Bengal

In 1905 the unwieldy province of Bengal was partitioned. The Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong Divisions (excluding the Darjeeling district) and the district of Malda having been separated from it were united with Assam and a new province under the name of Eastern Bengal and Assam was formed. In this province the Muslims formed an overwhelming majority and saw a better chance for their progress. The Hindus, on the other hand, regarded this change as opposed to their economic and political interests and started a vehement agitation against it.

It appears from the available evidence on the subject that the idea of partition was not of recent origin. It had existed long before the final scheme for the partition was devised. As early as 1854, Governor-General Dalhousie had "described the burden which fell upon the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal as

one that was more than a mortal man could bear". In 1872 Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, asked for a change like the one that was made in 1905. As a result of such recommendations Assam was separated from Bengal in 1874 and was placed under a Chief Commissioner. However, a more decisive step to reduce the burden of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was taken during Curzon's Viceroyalty. A scheme which envisaged the transfer of the Chittagong Division and the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh to Assam was first prepared in 1903. One of the chief arguments given in favour of the scheme was that the administration of the areas to be transferred to Assam "was exceedingly defective and that Eastern Bengal needed more immediate personal contact with the higher authorities". The Hindus of Bengal opposed the scheme vehemently and demanded its withdrawal. The Muslims also did not like it. But, unlike the Hindus, they were prepared to accept it if the Government agreed to found a Lieutenant-Governorship for the reconstituted province of Assam, with a council similar in constitution to "that in Bengal, and a Board of Revenue charged with the Revenue Administration of the province". Early in 1904, Curzon himself visited Chittagong, Dacca and Mymensingh to ascertain public opinion about the scheme and felt, as a result of the public discussion of the matter, that the scheme would have a fair chance of receiving the general approval of the people concerned if it envisaged "the formation of an eastern province, organised on the scale of Lieutenant-Governorship with a legislative council and an independent revenue authority". Accordingly, the 1903 scheme was modified and, on 16 October 1905, the province of Bengal was partitioned and a new Lieutenant-Governor's province, Eastern Bengal and Assam, was formed with Dacca as its capital and with a legislative council and a revenue authority of its own.

The Muslims generally felt satisfied at the creation of a Muslim majority province as it offered them better opportunities for progress. Among the Hindus, on the other hand, it caused much resentment and they embarked upon a prolonged agitation against its continuance. This agitation emanated mainly from Calcutta. The Calcutta Bar visualized that the creation of a separate High Court to serve the populous districts of the

new province would cause them both economic and political loss. The newspaper owners of Calcutta also anticipated curtailment of their "activities and influence in the event of other newspapers springing to life in the capital of a new administration".

The agitation against the partition soon took the form of a communal movement. The preponderance of the Muslims in the new province seemed to be a major factor that irritated the Hindus, and their opposition to the partition became in effect an opposition to Muslim feelings and interests. It was widely propagated by Hindu leaders that the partition meant the vivisection of the motherland and an insult to the goddess *kali* who symbolized the motherland. *Vande Mataram* (Hail Mother) was adopted by the anti-partitionists as their national song. This song was taken from Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's novel *Ananda Math* (The Abbay of Bliss) having for its theme the Sanyasi rebellion against Muslim rule in Bengal in the 1770s and was essentially an anti-Muslim slogan. Its extensive use in processions and meetings offended Muslim feelings and became a serious cause of Hindu-Muslim riots in Bengal.

As an economic device to compel the Government to revoke the partition, the anti-partitionists started the *swadeshi* movement which aimed at boycotting British manufactures and using home made goods. When the Hindu landlords tried to bring their Muslim tenants into the *swadeshi* cult, this movement also became a serious cause of Hindu-Muslim conflict in Bengal.

It is important to note that, in utter disregard of the sentiments of the Muslims of the new province, the Indian National Congress fully identified itself with the anti-partition movement.

The Simla Deputation

In the Autumn of 1905 Minto succeeded Curzon as Viceroy. Soon after he assumed office, a Liberal ministry came to power in Britain with John Morley, a radical, as Secretary of State for India. As Congress leaders had quite a few friends in the ruling party, they expected that it would, in accordance with the wishes of the Hindus, restore Bengal to its old boundaries. This expectation was based on Morley's own denunciation of the partition before he went over to the India Office. Adminis-

trative considerations did not, however, allow the British Government to undo the partition. Anyhow, to appease the Congress in another way, it was inclined to consider the question of giving a more representative character to the legislative councils. A clear indication in this direction came in July 1906 when Morley announced in the House of Commons that the Governor-General was about to appoint a small committee of his Executive Council to consider the extension of representative element in his Legislative Council and that he expected the Committee to frame its recommendations in the near future. The Muslims had not been satisfied with the working of the Councils Act of 1892 as it had given them practically no representation on the Councils. Nor had they felt satisfied with the political developments of the last two decades. Soon after the publication of Morley's announcement several Muslim newspapers and leaders began emphasising the necessity of Muslims making an organized effort to place before the rulers their own views regarding the constitution of the reformed councils. It was well known that the Council's Committee was 'to consider the policy of representation enunciated in Gokhales' address before the Banaras Congress of 1905, which made no reference to the question of Muslim representation and was based on the assumption that the people of India belonged to one nationality. On the initiative of Mohsin-ul-Mulk, the Muslims, therefore, decided to place their point of view before the Government through a representative deputation. Accordingly a deputation consisting of 35 prominent Muslims from all parts of the subcontinent waited upon the Viceroy on 1 October 1906. This deputation came to be known as the Simla Deputation. In an address read by the Aga Khan, it pointed out that the Muslims, who were a distinct community with special interests of their own, were inadequately represented on the councils, and that their representatives who were almost always nominated did not enjoy the approval and confidence of the community. It demanded that the Muslim representatives on all councils—local, provincial and Imperial—should be elected by separate Muslim electorates, and that the representation accorded to the Muslims should be commensurate with their numbers as well as the value of their contribution to the defence of the empire.

In his reply to the address, Minto accepted the views of the deputation as representing the feelings of the Muslims of the subcontinent and assured the deputationists that the political rights and interests of the Muslims would be safeguarded as a community in any administrative reorganization with which he was concerned.

Minto's conciliatory attitude towards the deputation was based partly on the feeling that the question of Muslim representation deserved proper consideration and partly on the desire that there should be no Muslim agitation in Eastern Bengal and Assam, which seemed imminent because of the resignation of Sir Bamfylde Fuller, Lieutenant-Governor of the new province, as a result of the Central Government's disapproval of his stern policy towards the anti-partition agitation of the Hindus. However, it strengthened the Muslim cause and brought home to the community the importance of an organized effort for the protection of their interests.

The All-India Muslim League

It has been explained in a preceding section that a movement towards establishing an All-India Muslim political organization had been developing among the Muslims since 1901. The circumstances leading to the formation of the Simla Deputation pointed to the inevitability of such an organization. Three months after the Deputation waited upon the Viceroy, the All-India Muslim League was formed.

The first step towards the formation of the League was taken in the middle of September 1906 when a meeting of Muslim delegates from different parts of the subcontinent was held at Lucknow to decide the composition of the Simla Deputation and to give final touches to the address to be presented to the Viceroy. This meeting also decided that an All-India Muslim political organization should be established at the next annual meeting of the Muhammadan Educational Conference. The matter was again discussed at Simla in October 1906 by the members of the Simla Deputation who decided that the nature and the aims and objects of the proposed organization should be finally determined at a representative meeting at Dacca to be held after the conclusion of the annual session

of the Muhammadan Educational Conference in the last week of December. About the middle of December, Khwaja Salimullah of Dacca published an eleborate scheme suggesting that the proposed association should be called "the All-India Muslim Confederacy" and that one of its objects should be 'to controvert the growing influence of the so-called Indian National Congress'. In accordance with the decisions taken at Lucknow and Simla a meeting of delegates to the Educational Conference, and of other prominent Muslims, was held at Dacca on 30 December 1906, Viqar-ul-Mulk presiding. Explaining the purpose of the meeting he said that time and circumstances made it necessary for the Muslim "to unite in association so as to make their voice heard above the din of other vociferous parties in India and across the wide seas in England". After an animated discussion over the necessity of forming this organization a resolution proposed by Khwaja Salimullah, seconded by Hakim Ajmal Khan and supported by a number of leading Muslims including Mohamed Ali and Zafar Ali Khan, was unanimously passed and the long awaited Muslim political association was formed under the name of the All-India Muslim League for the furtherance of the following objects :

"(a) To promote among the Musalmans of India feelings of loyalty to the British Government, and to remove any misconceptions that may arise as to the intentions of the Government with regard to any of its measures;

"(b) To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India and respectfully to represent their needs and aspirations to the Government;

"(c) To prevent the rise among the Musalmans of India of any feelings of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to other objects of the League".

A provisional committee consisting of leading Muslims representing all provinces was appointed with Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Viqar-ul-Mulk as joint secretaries to frame a constitution for the League and place it before a representative meeting of Muslims to be convened at a suitable time and place. At the first session of the League, held in Karachi in December 1907, some new members were added to the committee and it was here that the task of framing the constitution of the League was

completed. However, this constitution was given final approval at a special session of the League in Aligarh in the middle of March 1908. This session also elected the Aga Khan as president and Sayyid Hasan Bilgrami as secretary of the League. Provincial and district branches of the League had by now emerged in almost all important parts of the country. About the middle of the year a branch was also established in London with Syed Ameer Ali as president and Sayyid Ibn Hasan as secretary.

The establishment of the Muslim League marked in fact the emergence of Muslim nationalism in an organized form. This organization gave full attention to almost all aspects of Muslim interests in the sub continent. However, the subject that engaged its attention most till the passage of the Indian Councils Act of 1909 was the question of Muslim representation. The Muslims had demanded in their address presented to the Viceroy on 1 October 1906 that Muslim representatives on all councils—local, provincial and Imperial—should be elected by Muslim voters alone. The Council's Committee having considered this demand suggested that "in addition to the small number of Muslims who might be able to secure election in the ordinary manner, a certain number of seats should be assigned to be filled exclusively by Muslims, and that for the purpose of filling those seats, or a proportion of them, a separate Muslim electorate should be formed". The Government of India supported these proposals and communicated them to the Secretary of State. The latter agreed to the principle that the Muslims were entitled to special representation in the Imperial and provincial councils, but did not support the view that a separate Muslim electorate should be formed to fill Muslim seats. His counter-suggestion was that there should be a fixed number of seats for each community to be filled by means of mixed electoral colleges composed of members of different communities in proportion to their numerical strength in each electoral area. The Muslim League at its second annual session held at Amritsar in December 1908 passed emphatic resolutions on the subject demanding that Muslim seats in the councils should be filled only by Muslim electorates. In January 1909 a deputation headed by Syed Ameer Ali waited upon the Secretary of State on behalf of the London

Muslim League and told him that the proposed mixed electoral colleges would prove highly detrimental to Muslim interests. Lord Minto had already agreed to separate Muslim electorates. Ameer Ali's deputation also succeeded in procuring Morley's agreement.

Morley-Minto Reforms

The scheme for the reform of the councils which Morley and Minto began to formulate in 1906 took three years to materialise in the form of the Indian Councils Act of 1909. It represented a notable improvement on the Councils Act of 1892 and introduced for the first time the principle of election side by side with that of nomination. The number of the members of the Councils was also increased. The additional members of the Imperial Legislative Council were increased from 16 to a maximum of 60, and those of Bengal, Madras and Bombay to a maximum of 50. The same number was assigned to the United Provinces and Eastern Bengal and Assam, and the Panjab was to have 30 members. An official majority was retained in the Imperial Legislative Council, but small non-official majorities were given to the provinces with a considerable number of elected members. Morley had in 1907 nominated two Indians to the India Council. After the passage of the Act an Indian member was also appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council. The scope of discussion in the new councils was considerably enlarged. Members were allowed to discuss budget item by item. They could also ask questions and move resolutions on matters of public interest. The Act did not, however, empower the councils to control the government. The member-in-charge had the option not to answer questions and they could also be disallowed by the President. Similarly, resolutions passed by the councils could be ignored by the government as they had no binding force.

A very important feature of the Minto-Morley Reforms was the introduction of separate electorates for the Muslims. Some seats were reserved in each council, excepting that of the Panjab, to be filled exclusively by Muslim voters. The Muslims could also take part in the election for general seats and could thus supplement their representation.

The grant of separate electorates to the Muslims established legally and constitutionally the status of the Muslim community in the subcontinent as a distinct entity and that of the Muslim League as the only important Muslim political organization. This development produced a marked effect on League-Congress relations. Hitherto the Congress had neither recognised the Muslim League as representing the majority of the Muslims nor had it shown any desire to discuss with it the means of countering the growing tension between the Hindus and the Muslims. But only one year after the inauguration of the Minto-Morley Reforms the members of the two communities were discussing the questions affecting Hindu-Muslim relations. A conference of sixty Hindu and forty Muslim representatives, held at Allahabad on 1 January 1911, after the conclusion of the Congress session of 1910, discussed almost all issues affecting Hindu-Muslim relations, including the Muslim claim to separate representation. Although the conference could not do anything practical to remove the causes of Hindu-Muslim conflict, its deliberations showed that the Congress had begun to realise that the Muslim League was a factor in Indian politics that could no longer be ignored.

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CHAPTER XI

The Khilafat Movement

Annulment of the Partition of Bengal

In 1910 King George V succeeded to the throne of England. In the same year Hardinge replaced Minto as the Viceroy of India. One of the first acts of the new Viceroy was to arrange a coronation durbar for the King which was held at Delhi on 12 December 1911. The occasion was marked with a number of announcements. The most striking of these were the shifting of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi, the raising of Bengal to the status of a Governor's province and the dissolution of the recently created province of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

The suggestion for the transfer of the capital had been consistently made from the time of Lord William Bentinck. Delhi was closer to Simla, the summer seat of the Government of India. Moreover, it was considered to be more centrally placed for the administration of the subcontinent. It was also argued that the Imperial capital should be removed from a commercial city like Calcutta. Bengal was elevated to a Governor's province like Madras and Bombay. This step was dictated both by the

size and importance of the province. The revocation of the partition of Bengal was stated to be "not a reversal of the partition but a re-arrangement after experience". The statement was evidently not in accord with facts. It was a concession to the militant Hindu agitation which had been growing apace since 1905 when the partition was effected. This is amply borne out by the fact that the King had himself urged upon Lord Hardinge in December 1910 to reunite the two parts of the partitioned province as "this would flatter the Bengalis very much, allay discontent and stop sedition". The Viceroy was reluctant to take this step as he thought it would not only mean anarchy in administration but would also be an unnecessary concession to sedition and crime. But, partly in deference to the wishes of the Monarch and partly to the advice of his own council, he agreed.

The annulment came as a shock to the Muslims. They were naturally distressed and their grief was expressed by Khwaja Salimullah, a Muslim leader of Eastern Bengal, in the following words: "The annulmentof the Partition . . . has appeared to put a premium on sedition and disloyalty, and created an impression in the minds of the . . . masses that even the Government can be brought down on its knees by a reckless and persistent defiance of constituted authority."

Balkan War and other Muslim Grievances

The annulment of the partition of Bengal was not the only cause of Muslim discontent. The recurring crisis in the world of Islam also shocked the Muslims. In September 1911 Italy attacked and captured Tripoli, a part of the Turkish Empire, whose Sultan was recognised as the Caliph of the Muslim world. A year later, in October 1912, the Muslims were again alarmed when four Christian Balkan states, namely, Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece, declared war on Turkey with Britain's connivance. The war ended with the Treaty of London (30 May 1913) which practically ended Turkish rule over the Balkans. As a measure of help to Turkey, the Muslims of the subcontinent sent a medical mission under Dr. M.A. Ansari to help the sick and wounded Turkish soldiers. An organisation called Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Ka' bah (Society of the Servants of the Ka'bah)

was formed for the maintenance of the integrity of the Turkish Empire, so that the holy places situated therein continued to remain under Turkish custody.

Another Muslim grievance was the Government refusal to raise the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, to the status of a University. The Government of India tried, in the first instance, to discourage the proposal, and demanded that a sum of 30 lakhs of rupees should be collected before this scheme could be considered. The Muslims readily agreed and their leaders like Raja Ali Mohammad Khan of Mahmudabad, the Aga Khan and Maulana Shaukat Ali launched a campaign to collect funds. When funds began to pour in from all sides, the Government decided that the University will neither be autonomous nor would it be permitted to affiliate institutions outside Aligarh. This was contrary to Muslim expectations. They felt that this would defeat the very purpose for which they were working. If the University was not to guide Muslim education throughout the subcontinent by a well-planned system of affiliation, the idea of raising the College to the status of a University seemed meaningless. The Muslims decided to wait upon the Viceroy and present their case. But in the meantime World War I broke out and the decision on this question was postponed. This naturally caused a great deal of resentment among the Muslims.

Shortly after these developments came the crisis regarding the Cawnpore Mosque. In July 1913 the municipal authorities of Cawnpore demolished a portion of a city mosque to widen the street in spite of the strong protests of the local Muslim population. The Governor of the province upheld the decision of the municipality. A meeting of the Cawnpore Muslims decided to rebuild the demolished portion of the mosque. When they started working on the site the police opened fire which resulted in heavy casualities and many arrests.

New creed of the Muslim League

The Muslims were naturally perturbed at these developments. They attributed their woes to the British policy which they thought was being employed to crush the Muslims inside as well as outside India. It was, therefore, due to the domestic and international situation that an anti-British sentiment began to

grow among the Muslims. This was eloquently expressed by newspapers and journals like Zafar Ali Khan's *Zamindar,* Mohamed Ali's *Comrade* and *Hamdard* and Abul Kalam Azad's *Al-Hilal.* This anti-British feeling drove the Muslims to seek closer collaboration with the Hindus in the political struggle. It was against this background that an important change took place in the creed of the All-India Muslim League which adopted a new constitution at Lucknow on 23 March 1913: it was henceforth to work for "the attainment under the aegis of the British Crown a system of self-government suitable to India . . . by fostering public spirit among the people . . . and by co-operating with other communities for the said purpose".

The adoption of this objective by the League was generally welcomed. There were some Muslims, however, the more important among them being Shibli Numani, the well known poet and historian, who viewed the change unfavourably. They objected to the phrase 'suitable to India' joined with the object of attaining self-government. For them the League was politically timid and had not gone far enough in defining its political aspirations. They stood for unqualified self-government on the model of British parliamentary democracy. It was about this time that M.A. Jinnah who had been a staunch Congressman from the beginning of his political career joined the All-India Muslim League.

First World War

Turkey's joining Germany in the World War of 1914 gravely strained the relations of the Muslims of the subcontinent with their British rulers. The British government was naturally keen on getting the maximum support of their subjects in the war effort. Mr. Asquith, the British Prime Minister, referred to 'the intolerable degradation of foreign yoke' and openly declared that the Indian question must be viewed 'from a new angle of vision'. Mr. Lloyd George, who succeeded Mr. Asquith, was no less emphatic. He said that the principle of self-determination ought to be applied 'in tropical countries'. These promises had the desired effect and many Hindu leaders came out strongly in favour of helping the government to carry on the war. Gandhi went to the extent of saying that, "If we could but crowd the

battle-fields of France with an indomitable army of home-rulers fighting for the victory of the cause of the Allies, it will also be a fight for our own cause. We should then have made out an unanswerable case for the granting of Home Rule not in any distant or near future but immediately". Gandhi was awarded a *Kaiser-i-Hind* medal for this service to the Empire. The position of Muslims was, however, different. As Turkey joined the war on the side of the Central Powers, hostilities in Europe found them in a difficult position. Their loyalties to their spiritual suzerain, the Turkish Caliph, came in direct conflict with their loyalty to the British government. It was, therefore, natural for them to speak in a different language. Mohamed Ali, one of the foremost Muslim leaders of the time, wrote a strongly worded article in his *Comrade* entitled *The Choice of the Turks* which was written in reply to an article in the London *Times* under the same caption. The *Times* had warned Turkey against joining the war on the side of Germany. Mohamed Ali justified Turkey's alliance with the Central Powers. However, he advised his co-religionists to remain loyal to the Government. "Whatever our grievances, whatever reforms we desire", he said, "everything must wait for a more seasonable occasion. Even if the Government were to concede to us all that we ever desired or dreamt . . . we would humbly tell the Government this is no time for it and we must for the present decline such concessions with thanks. Concessions are asked for and accepted in peace. We are no Russian Poles. We need no bribes". These appeals were successful and the people as well as the Princes rallied round Britain's banner. In all, the Government of the British Indian Empire sent about a million men to the battlefield. The Muslims fought in different theatres of war. Even then the Government showed complete indifference to the Muslim sentiments and forfeited the security of the *Comrade* and also of the *Hamdard*. Soon after, in the summer of 1915, Mohamed Ali and his brother Shaukat Ali were interned.

Silk Letter Conspiracy

During the years 1915 and 1916 a number of students and political workers escaped from the subcontinent to work for the cause of freedom in a more helpful atmosphere. Among them

was a band of 15 Muslim students mostly from Lahore colleges. They secretly migrated to Afghanistan on 5 February 1915 with the ultimate object of going to Turkey and also to work for the emancipation of their country from the British yoke. They were joined by others from Peshawar and Kohat and also by 'Ubaidullah Sindhi, a devout Muslim theologian. In October 1915, an Indian-Turkish-German mission led by Raja Mahendra Partap also reached Kabul *via* Iran and got into touch with this group. The purpose of this mission was to persuade the Afghan authorities to attack India and keep the British Army occupied on the frontier. This move was intended to strengthen the Turkish and German armies against the Russian allies of Britain. The real motive of Raja Mahendra Partap, as revealed by Captain Zafar Hassan Aibak in his recently published memoris, was to establish a Hindu kingdom in India with the help of the Raja of Nepal.

Another group led by Mahmud-ul-Hasan of *Dar-ul-'Ulum*, Deoband, and Mohammed Mian Ansari had left for the Hejaz to help the Turks in whatever manner they could. It was during their stay in Arabia that they obtained a declaration of *jihad* from Ghalib Pasha, the Turkish military governor of the Hejaz, which exhorted the Indian Muslims to help the Turkish cause with men, money and whatever else was required.

'Ubaidullah Sindhi, who was in the vanguard of the revolutionary movement in Kabul, despatched a secret message written on a piece of silken cloth to inform Mahumd-ul-Hasan of his activities. This letter was given to a messenger named Shaikh 'Abdul Haq who was to hand it over to a certain Shaikh 'Abdur Rahim. The latter was either to send it through some reliable person, or himself proceed to the Hejaz to deliver it to Mahmud-ul-Hassan. But before this letter could reach its destination, it was intercepted by the Government whose officials called it the 'Silk Letter Conspiracy'.

The Lucknow Pact

Since the change in the creed of the All-India Muslim League in 1913, a desire to promote better relations between the Hindus and Muslims had been growing among some sections of both the communities. As a result of this changed attitude, the All-

India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress met for their annual sessions at Bombay in December 1915. The principal leaders of the two political groups had assembled at one place for the first time in the history of these two organizations. The speeches made from the platforms of the League and the Congress were similar in tone and theme. Within a few months of the Bombay moot, in October 1916, nineteen Hindu and Muslim elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council jointly prepared and submitted a memorandum to the Viceroy, recommending a scheme of political advancement. The next step was a meeting between the representatives of the League and the Congress at Calcutta in November 1916. This meeting settled the details of an agreement about the composition of the legislatures and the quantum of representation to be allowed to the two communities. The agreement was confirmed by the annual sessions of the two organisations in December at Lucknow. The League session was presided over by Mohammad Ali Jinnah who was the principal architect of the agreement. Making a strong plea for unity he said that "India's real progress can only be achieved by a true understanding and harmonious relations between the two great . . . communities. With regard to our own affairs we can depend upon nobody but ourselves". These overtures of goodwill were reciprocated by the Congress. The settlement thus reached is known as the Lucknow Pact.

The Pact provided legislative councils of 125 in major provinces and of 50 to 75 in minor provinces. Four-fifths of the members were to be elected directly on 'as broad a franchise as possible'. The Central Legislative Council was to consist of 150 members, four-fifths of whom were to be elected. The elected members of the provincial legislative councils were to form an electorate for the return of members to the Imperial Legislative Council. On the vital issue of the method of representation the scheme provided for the representation of the Muslims through separate electorates in the following proportion :

Panjab	One-half of the elected members
United Provinces	30 per cent of the elected members
Bengal	40 per cent of the elected members
Bihar	25 per cent of the elected members

Central Provinces	15 per cent of the elected members
Madras	15 per cent of the elected members
Bombay	One-third of the elected members

In the Imperial Legislative Council one-third of the elected members were to be Muslims. It was also provided that no bill affecting a community was to be discussed in any council if three-fourths of the representatives of that community opposed it. With regard to matters of finance and administration provincial councils were to be substantially free from the control of the Central Government. The Imperial Legislative Council was, however, to deal with those matters in which uniform legislation for the whole of the subcontinent was considered desirable.

The Lucknow Pact apparently made two significant changes in the system of representation. Firstly, the Congress accepted the system of separate electorates which it had opposed strongly and conceded separate electorates to the Muslims not only in the provinces where they were already provided by the Minto-Morley Reforms but also in the Panjab and the Central Provinces where they did not exist. Secondly, the Muslims were given weightage in Muslim minority provinces. But these two concessions were obtained at no mean price. The Muslims were deprived of the benefits of their majorities in the Panjab and Bengal. In the Panjab the Muslims were to get nine-tenth of what they were entitled to according to their population strength. Similarly, in Bengal they were to get three-fourth of what they should have obtained on the strength of numbers. It is true that they got somewhat better representation in Muslim minority provinces but the weighted representation meant nothing in the face of overwhelming Hindu majorities. The Lucknow Pact was the first political settlement between the Hindus and Muslims in the history of British rule in this subcontinent.

Home Rule Movement

Both Hindu and Muslim leaders had offered loyal co-operation to the Government in the earlier stages of the war. But as the war progressed, it became increasingly clear that the British government was in no mood to fulfil the promises made at the opening of hostilities. The political leaders were naturally dis-

illusioned. A new organization, called the Home Rule League, was quickly organised under the leadership of Annie Besant and B.G. Tilak. It was more violent in tone and temper than the Congress party. The subcontinent was once again charged with such political activity as it has not witnessed during the last two or three years. This organization stood for Home Rule as a right and not as a gift of the British government. The growing agitation obliged Edwin Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, in August 1917 to make an announcement in the House of Commons promising immediate constitutional advance. A detailed analysis of this announcement is given in a subsequent chapter.

The War came to a close in 1918. Soon after, a number of incidents took place in India which worsened the political situation. These were the passage of the Rowlatt Act, the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy and the humiliation of Turkey at the Peace Conference.

Rowlatt Act

At the end of 1917 the Government of India set up a committee presided over by Justice S.A. Rowlatt to hold a probe into revolutionary crime and suggest special legislation for dealing with seditious activities. The report of the committee was submitted in April 1918. It was on the basis of this report that 'The Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act' (popularly known as the Rowlatt Act) was passed in March 1919. It was a measure designed to curb personal freedom, stifle popular liberty and subdue political activity. It sought to convict political suspects without a proper trial. It was universally condemned by all shades of political opinion. It was feared that the Government would misuse powers it had assumed under the Act.

It was at this stage that Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi came into prominence. He had already won some repute as a leader of the 'passive resistance' movement against the unjust laws to which the Indians domicilied in South Africa had been subjected. During his stay in South Africa he emphasized *Ahimsa* or non-violence and used it as an effective political weapon. On the passage of the Rowlatt Act he toured the subcontinent extensively and created a substantial following for himself. The

Government made another mistake. The Indian National Congress had planned to hold its sessions at Amritsar. The Government arrested two Congress leaders at which rioting broke out. A military picket fired into a crowd that was throwing brickbats and killed one or two persons at which the crowd burnt several public buildings and killed five Europeans.

Jallianwala Bagh

On 13 April, 1919, a large crowd of about six to ten thousand gathered in the Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar to voice their protest. A day earlier on 12 April 1919, General Dyer Commander of the Jullundhur Brigade, who had taken charge of the local troops, had banned public meetings and processions in the city. Since most of the people were unaware of this order they began gathering at the site of the meeting. Soon after the meeting had started, General Dyer came to the scene with his troops and ordered firing on the defenceless crowd without warning. Since the venue of the meeting was enclosed on all sides with only a few narrow exits, the firing resulted in a heavy loss of life. In all 1,605 rounds were fired. The firing stopped only after the ammunition in possession of the soldiers was nearly exhausted. According to official figures, 379 were killed and two hundred wounded. The unofficial estimate of the death toll was, however, much higher. The administrators had certainly crossed the limit and acted beyond the necessity of the situation.

The Khilafat Movement

The Muslims had watched with agony the enslavement of one Muslim country after another during the last quarter of a century. The pace had accelerated considerably during the first decade of the twentieth century. World War I had resulted in the defeat of the Turks and now the Allied Powers, particularly Great Britain and France were bent upon dismembering the Ottoman Empire. The Muslims were also horrified to think that the holy places of Islam, specially Mecca and Medina would come under Christian influence. Justification was sought for supporting Turkey through insisting upon the religious character of the Khilafat. 27 October 1919 was observed, therefore, as 'Khilafat Day' throughout the subcontinent. A body known as Khilafat

Conference was soon set up and its first session was held in December 1919 at Amritsar under the presidentship of Shaukat Ali. In January 1920, a deputation was sent to the Viceroy to represent the Muslim demand in respect of the Khilafat. It was then found necessary to send a delegation to Europe. It was headed by Mohamed Ali and visited England and France. The leader of the delegation summed up the case in a speech in London on 23 March 1920. "Turkey", he said, "cannot be torn into fragments like Germany and Austria, because the day you tear the empire of the Khilafat to fragments you outrage the feelings of seventy-five million of your own people".

In spite of the strong pleas and entreaties the delegation did not succeed and it returned home in October 1920. In the meantime the Treaty of Sevres had been concluded. Turkey had been so harshly treated that all that remained of the Ottoman empire was a small Turkish state confined mainly to the interior of Asia Minor. This was quite at variance with the promises which had been made to the Indian Muslims during the war.

Even before the publication of the Treaty of Sevres the Muslims had decided to launch a mass movement to get their demands accepted. Gandhi who had by now emerged as the foremost leader of the Indian National Congress persuaded that body to join hands with the Muslims in their struggle to save the Khilafat. For him it was "such an opportunity of uniting Hindus and Muslims as would not arise in a hundred year". A full-scale non-co-operation movement was, therefore, set afoot. It was perhaps the biggest mass movement that had been ever launched before. It was the only movement in which the Hindus and the Muslims joined forces against the British. According to an estimate, during the months of December 1921 and January 1922 only, some 30,000 people belonging to both the communities went to jail. But there is enough evidence to show that this Hindu-Muslim unity was highly artificial. The religious and social barriers between them were too deep rooted and kept them apart even in jails. The aims of the two peoples also were not identical. The Hindus had supported the Khilafat agitation simply to gain Muslim support but many of them were openly unhappy at the feelings of the Muslims for Islamic solidarity.

Hijrat Movement

The Hijrat movement was a by-product of the Khilafat movement. In August 1921 some 18,000 Muslims mostly from Sind, the Panjab and the North-West Frontier Province, left their homes to seek refuge in Afghanistan. They laboured under the impression that the government of Afghanistan was ready to receive them. But on reaching the Afghan borders they were turned back. This retreat resulted in a havy loss of life. Those of them who were able to stand the rigours of journey and disease and returned safely "found themselves homeless and penniless with their property in the hands of those to whom they had sold it for a tithe of its value".

The non-co-operation movement was called off by Gandhi in February 1922 after the incident of Chauri Chaura where twenty two policemen had been shut up in a house and burnt alive by a frenzied mob. The Khilafat movement continued till March 1924 when the Turkish National Assembly under the guidance of Kemal Ataturk, abolished the Caliphate and proclaimed Turkey a Republic. After this declaration the movement naturally collapsed. The short-lived show of Hindu Muslim unity during non-co-operation was followed by Hindu revivalist and anti-Muslim movement of grest intensity.

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CHAPTER XII

The Reforms of 1919 and the working of Dyarchy

In July 1917 Montagu succeeded Chamberlain as Secretary of State for India. Soon after assuming office, he made an important declaration on the floor of the House of Commons on 20 August in which he stated that: "The policy of His Majesty's Government with which the Government of India are in complete accord is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire".

In the same speech he announced his intention of proceeding to the subcontinent for a free and informal consultation with political leaders. At this time the war situation in Europe was very unfavourable to the Allies and the British position was critical. It was, therefore, necessary to win the sympathy of the Indians. Moreover, it was considered desirable to divert the attention of the Indians from political agitation to the forthcoming constitutional changes. During his visit which lasted from November 1917 to April 1918, Montagu toured extensively, met important leaders and

acquainted himself with the political situation. After this survey, a joint report signed by him and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India, was published in July 1918. This report recommended that while the Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament, the control of provincial administration should be partly made over to the provincial legislatures. Before this reform scheme could be placed before the House of Commons three committees, namely, the Franchise Committee, the Functions Committee and the Committee on Home Administration were appointed to go into the details of the proposed Bill. It was introduced in the House of Commons on 2 June, received the royal assent on 23 December 1919. This Act made important changes in the structure of the central and provincial governments. Elections to the new legislatures were held in November 1920 and the reforms went into operation on 1 January 1921.

A bicameral legislature consisting of the Central Legislative Assembly (144 members) and the Council of State (60 members) was to replace the existing Imperial Council. The President of the Council of State was to be nominated by the Governor-General but that of the Legislative Assembly was to be elected by the House itself after the first four years. The life of the Legislative Assembly was fixed at three years and that of the Council of State at five. The Governor-General could summon a joint session in case of a deadlock between the two Houses. The method of election to both Houses of Legislature was to be direct. The franchise was, however, restricted and based on high property qualifications. The provisions of the Lucknow Pact regarding the separate representation of the Muslims were incorporated in the Act. The functions of the Central legislature were considerably expanded. Members were allowed to introduce adjournment motions. The right to ask supplementary questions was no longer confined to the member who originally asked the question but was extended to the whole House. There were, however, considerable restrictions on the power of the legislature. Previous sanction of the Governor-General was necessary for introducing bills concerning public debt, revenues, religious affairs of the British residing in the subcontinent, Army, Navy and foreign relations, any provincial subject or repealing or amending an Act of the provincial legislature or an ordinance issued by the

Governor-General. The legislature, moreover, could not alter, amend or repeal the Act of 1919 or any other Act passed by the British Parliament. In case of an emergency the Governor-General had the power of promulgating ordinances. An ordinance had the same force as a law passed by the legislature, but it was valid only for a period of six months. The Governor-General was also empowered to refuse his assent to any bill passed by the legislature.

The spheres of Central and Provincial governments were demarcated and the lists of Central and Provincial subjects were drawn up separately. The Central legislative authority extended to subjects which required uniformity of policy and direction. The Provincial list was made up of subjects of a local character. The Central list included foreign relations, communications, posts and telegraphs, currency and coinage, public debt, sources of central revenue, civil and criminal law procedure, and central services. In the list of the Provincial subjects were placed local self-government, education, public works, sanitation and public health, agriculture, development of industries, excise, land revenue administration, famine relief, irrigation, police, prisons, etc. In case of a doubt or dispute as to whether a particular subject was Central or Provincial, the matter was to be referred to the Governor-General for decision. The Central Government continued to be vested in the Governor-General-in-Council as before and remained responsible to the British Parliament.

A new system of government called 'Dyarchy' was introduced in the provinces of British India. The essence of this system was the division of administration of the province into two separate areas namely the 'Reserved' and the 'Transferred'. The Reserved subjects were to be administered by the provincial Governor with the help of executive councillors responsible not to the provincial legislature but to the Government of India. The Reserved subjects were naturally more important and included land revenue, famine relief, irrigation, forests, administration of justice, police, jails, finance, factories, electricity, labour problems, control of newspapers, books, printing presses etc. The Transferred subjects comprised local self-government, medical administration, public health, sanitation, education, fisheries, co-operative societies, public works, agriculture etc. The question whether a subject

belonged to the Reserved or Transferred list was to be decided by the Governor. The size of provincial legislative councils was considerably enlarged. The former system of indirect election was replaced by direct elections. Separate electorates were provided for the Muslims. The members of the legislative councils could ask questions, move motions of adjournment, pass resolutions and vote the supplies.

The administration of the reserved subjects was to be entrusted to the Governor aided by not more than four Executive Councillors. The Executive Councillors sat in the legislature but were not responsible to it. The transferred subjects on the other hand, were administered by the Governor assisted by his ministers chosen from amongst the elected members of the legislature. No maximum or minimum limit was fixed on the number of Ministers.

The Act of 1919 also provided for the appointment of a commission at the expiry of ten years "to inquire into the working of the system of government . . . and the development of the representative institutions in British India and matters connected therewith."

The principle underlying the Government of India Act 1919 was that the people were not yet ready for complete self-government and that they must, therefore, be trained before complete responsibility could be transferred to them. The novel experiment of dyarchy was launched in the provinces to impart the necessary training to the Ministers in the processes of constitutional government. The most remarkable feature of the new system, however, was that, for the first time in the history of British rule, the British government agreed to the establishment of parliamentary institutions, a demand which had hitherto been consistently refused by British statesmen. But despite this advance, the Reform scheme was far from successful. It did not really effect the Central Government which continued to be controlled and administered by the British government. The more important departments of administration even in the provincial sphere continued to be run by the Executive Councillors responsible not to the provincial legislature but to the Governor and, through him, to the Governor-General. It was only in the Transferred portion of the provincial administration that a limited measure of control was transferred to the councils.

Working of Dyarchy

In addition to the limitations inherent in the Act, other defects of the Dyarchy were revealed through its working. It was unsound and illogical. Government is an organic whole and cannot be divided into watertight compartments. The detailed division of the subjects between the Reserved and Transferred areas, moreover, was wrong in principle and injurious to administrative efficiency. The Ministers holding different portfolios were not given the entire charge of any single department. Education, for instance, was a Transferred subject, but European and Anglo-Indian education was placed in the Reserved list. The provincial Governors did not behave like constitutional heads acting on the advice of the Ministers. They overruled their Ministers frequently and in so doing they frustrated all chances of the development of parliamentary democracy. The substance of power rested not with the Ministers who represented the electorate and were responsible to the legislature but with the Governor. Contrary to the expectations of the framers of the Act, the exercise of the overriding powers of the Governor became a normal feature of the day-to-day administration. The Ministers had to face great difficulties when they approached the Finance department (which was a Reserved department) for additional funds. After receiving a refusal from the Finance department they could appeal to the Governor, but the Governor almost invariably sided with the Executive Councillors. The relations of the Ministers with the members of the Civil Services were not always harmonious. In case of difference of opinion the issue was referred to the Governor who often upheld the views of the members of the Services. This naturally weakened the position of the Ministers. The principle of joint ministerial responsibility, which is the basis of parliamentary democracy, did not have a chance to develop. Since the Ministers did not always belong to one group or one party, they did not work as a team and even went to the extent of criticising one another publicly. They were consulted by the Governor individually and not collectively. The resignation or removal of a Minister did not affect his colleagues. It was, therefore, rightly said that there were Ministers but no ministries. There were, however, two provinces, namely Madras and the Panjab, where parliamentary government appeared to have

developed and worked smoothly. In Madras, the Justice Party consisting of non-Brahmins challenged the traditional ascendancy of the Brahmins and captured a majority in the Legislative Council. In the Panjab, Mian Fazl-i-Husain, who emerged as an outstanding leader and served first as an Education Minister from 1921 to 1926 and then as Revenue Member from 1926 to 1930, commanded the respectful support of his colleagues. He formed the Unionist Party in December 1923 in order to develop parliamentary life in the province. The membership of this party was open to all communities, yet it was predominantly Muslim in composition. In the main it stood for helping the "backward classes and areas with a view to enabling them to make good the leeway produced by an ill-conceived . . . policy of neglect in the past". As the Muslims happened to be less advanced educationally and economically, the party's creed gave them some hope for the future. During his tenure as Education Minister, Fazl-i-Husain's achievements were indeed remarkable. From 2.42% of the persons receiving education in 1920 he raised the percentage to 6.71% in six years. He instituted a number of scholarships and freeships to encourage education among the Muslims. Seats were reserved for Muslim boys in the Government College and Medical College, Lahore, in proportion to the Muslim representation in the legislature. College education was promoted by opening Intermediate colleges in backward areas. Philanthropic bodies like the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam which looked after Muslim education were helped by grants-in-aid. Within a short time "Muslims in all Institutions increased by 42.3%, while the increase among Hindus was barely 19.6%".

In Bengal the Muslims were not properly organized till 1926 and they entered the Council either as Independents or as members of the Swaraj Party, a splinter group of the Congress which had seceded from the parent body in 1923 on the issue of boycotting the legislatures. From 1926, however, the Muslims started organizing themselves as a separate group. An important factor which largely contributed to this development was the Swaraj Party's attitude in the Council over the 'Bengal Tenancy Act Amendment Bill' and the 'Rural Primary Education Bill'. In both instances the Sawarajists disregarded Muslim interests in collaboration with the Hindu landlords and the division on the bills

sharply brought out the cleavage that existed between Hindu and Muslim members of the Council.

The benefits of the Reforms of 1919 were denied to the North-West Frontier Province in the beginning. It was only in 1932, chiefly due to the ceaseless efforts of Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum, that the province was upgraded to the constitutional status of other provinces. He truly deserves to be known as the grand old man of the North-West Frontier Province. He founded the Islamia College, Peshawar, in 1913 which, within a few years, became an important educational institution in the subcontinent. He became a Minister in 1932 when the province was given a dyarchical constitution. Sind was still tagged to Bombay so that Sind's Muslim majority was reduced to a minority in Bombay Presidency.

Taking an overall view of the Government of India Act 1919, which remained in operation from 1921 to 1937, it may be concluded that the Reform scheme would have been far more successful if the Reforms had been conceded a few years earlier. A number of events such as the passage of the Rowlatt Act, the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy and the Khilafat movement foredoomed the Reforms to failure.

A SHORT READING LIST

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CHAPTER XIII

Constitutional and Political Problems

Hindu-Muslim Relations

After the short-lived Hindu-Muslim unity of the Khilafat-Non-Co-operation days communal tension began to mount and resulted in frequent and deadly riots. An important factor responsible for the deterioration of Hindu-Muslim relations was the birth at Banaras in 1923 of the Hindu Mahasabha, a militant Hindu organisation, under the leadership of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. It started as a socio-religious movement but soon became a full-fledged political party. Its main objectives could be summed up in two words: *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* meant the conversion of all Muslims to Hinduism and *Sangathan* stood for organizing the Hindus against the Muslims. The new party concealed neither its ideology nor its ultimate intentions. It professed to work for the complete annihilation of Islam in the subcontinent. Lala Hardyal, a typical representative of this school of thought, openly declared, "the future of the Hindu race of Hindustan and of Panjab rests on these four pillars: (1) Hindu Sangathan, (2) Hindu Raj, (3) Shuddhi of Moslems,

and (4) conquest and shuddhi of Afghanistan and the Frontier. So long as the Hindu nation does not accomplish these four things, the safety of our children and great-grand-children will be ever in danger, and the safety of Hindu race will be impossible". The Muslims, according to Lala Hardyal, could continue to live in India on the condition that they "adopt Hindu names, they must give up names of Arab and Iranian origin, they must observe Hindu festivals; they must revere the Hindu heroes of the epics; they must dress like Hindus; they must observe the Hindu customs; and they must give up calling themselves Muslims. Even then if they choose to follow their own religious beliefs they could be given the permission to worship in their own manner. They must, however, call themselves Muhammadi Hindus". Similar utterances from Hindu leaders will be found scattered in manifestoes, addresses and newspaper articles. It was evident that the programme of the Hindu Mahasabha ruled out compromise and conciliation between the two communities. The Muslims organized the movements of *Tabligh* and *Tanzim* as an answer to the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan*, but these did not make much headway. There were two main reasons for their failure. Firstly, the Muslims were far behind the Hindus economically and educationally and did not command adequate financial resources. Secondly, the effective part of contemporary Muslim leadership still believed that Hindu-Muslim unity was necessary for winning self-rule.

'Shuddhi' and 'Sangathan' exploited the existence of every irritant that could poison Hindu-Muslim idealism. The Hindus worship the cow and its protection is an article of faith with them. The Muslims did not share this Hindu attitude and they generally ate beef and sacrificed cows along with goats and sheep on *Id-ul-azha*. In fact there have been innumerable riots between the Hindus and the Muslims on account of cow-killing and more Muslims were killed on this pretext before 1947 than on any other. Even Gandhi, who claimed to be the foremost champion of Hindu-Muslim unity, saw no difference between 'cow-slaughter' and 'man-slaughter'. In his opinion they were, "the two sides of the same coin". It was indeed very strange that the Christians, who were also beef-eaters, escaped the Hindu wrath.

Although the Congress was overwhelmingly a Hindu body, the

Hindu mind was generally revealed in the utterances made on the platform of the Mahasabha. But there was some sort of tacit understanding between the two. The Congress leaders never criticised, much less condemned, the Mahasabha for its virulent attacks on Muslims and their religion. Indeed, there were many Hindus like Lala Lajpat Rai who were enrolled in the Congress as well as the Mahasabha. In the opinion of many observers the difference between the two organisations was one of methods and not of ideology. Both of them reflected the Hindu mind and Hindu aspirations. The only difference between them, says Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, was that the Hindu Mahasabha "is crude in utterances and brutal in action while the Congress is polite and politic". The Congress leaders were never tired of proclaiming their desire for an understanding with the Muslims on political matters. But the issues that divided them were political as well as social. A fusion between Hindus and Muslims was ruled out as they neither inter-married nor inter-dined. The existence of this hurdle was ignored by Gandhi who theorised that these notions were irrelevant and "borrowed from the West". In government departments, private concerns, newspapers, universities, schools, sports fields and almost every sphere of social life where they came into contact with each other, the Muslims and the Hindus behaved as members of two distinct social classes. In towns the Hindu population lived in areas distinctly marked off from Muslim places of habitation. It was unthinkable for a Hindu to buy sweets, milk, curd and even dry grocery from a Muslim shopkeeper. He always feared pollution. In such a tense atmosphere communal riots sparked off on trifles. Serious clashes were reported from one or the other part of the subcontinent almost every day. At times the members of the two communities appeared to be engaged in a civil war which was interrupted only by intervals of armed truce. The spirit behind the Lucknow Pact of 1916 had long been dead and forgotten.

All Parties Conference

It was because of these disastrous happenings that an agreement of some lasting character between Hindus and Muslims became an utmost necessity. The All-India Muslim League which had been pushed into the background during the stormy Non-

Co-operation days, was revived in 1924. Its leaders continued stress the need for Hindu-Muslim unity in its annual sessions in 1924, 1925 and 1926. In the meantime a number of fruitless unityconferences were also held. Finally, the initiative was taken by a group of Muslim leaders who assembled at Delhi on 20 March 1927 under the presidentship of M. A. Jinnah. After a lengthy discussion they agreed to renounce separate electorates on behalf of the Muslims if the Hindus agreed to the separation of Sind from Bombay, the introduction of the Reforms of 1919 in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, statutory Muslim majorities in the Panjab and Bengal legislatures and one-third representation for the Muslim community in the Central legislature. It was a gesture of good-will on the part of Jinnah and other Muslim leaders to have agreed to surrender separate electorates in spite of the opposition of a strong section of the League led by Mian Muhammad Shafi. The Congress reaction to to these proposals was favourable and it decided to consult other political parties. An All-Parties Conference was, therefore, convened at Delhi which was intermittently in session from 12February 1928 to the middle of March. Mian Muhammad Shafi and his supporters kept away from the Conference. The differences between the representatives of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League were too wide to be reconciled at the Conference table. The Conference, therefore, adjourned and met again at Bombay in the following May. When the delegates reassembled at Bombay on 19 March, it was evident that the prospects of unity had by no means improved during the recess. It was then decided to entrust the work of framing the draft of the future constitution of the country to a small committee of 9 members. The committee wns headed by Pandit Motilal Nehru. Ali Imam and Shuaib Qureshi represented the Muslims. The pattern of government prescribed by this committee is commonly called the Nehru Report.

The Nehru Report recommended full Dominion Status with responsible government at the Centre as well as in the provinces. Separate electorates, accepted by the Hindus under the Lucknow Pact, were repudiated as they were "bad for the growth of national spirit". The Muslim demand for reservation of seats in the Panjab and Bengal legislatures was dismissed as antagonistic to "the

principles on which responsible government rests". Weightage, like separate electorates, was disallowed because "such representation is possible only in separate electorates and has no place in joint or mixed electorates". The Muslims were to get proportional representation in the Central legislature and not one-third of the total seats as had been suggested in the Delhi Proposals of March 1927. Sind was to be separated from Bombay and Reforms were to be introduced in N.-W.F.P. and Baluchistan. The form of government was to be federal only in name as the residuary and other substantial powers were to be assigned to the Central government. It was proposed to introduce full adult suffrage. In the next meeting of the All-Parties Conrefence on 28 August at Lucknow the clause regarding the separation of Sind was modified to provide that Sind could be separated from Bombay only if it was found financially viable. Out of the two Muslim members of the Nehru Committee, Shuaib Qureshi refused to sign the final draft of the report and Ali Imam was virtually absent from the committee meetings throughout.

In this draft constitution most of the Muslim demands had been rejected on one pretext or the other. The reaction of the community was distinctly unfavourable. But the framers of the Report went ahead with their plans. They decided to place this constitution before an all-parties convention to be held at Calcutta on 28 December 1928. The Muslim League leaders decided to attend the convention and move a number of amendments to the Nehru constitution to make it conform to the Delhi proposals of March 1927. Some of the important amendments were: one-third reservation of seats in the Central legislature for Muslims; fixing the quota of Muslim representation in the Panjab and Bengal legislatures on population basis and vesting the residuary powers in the provinces. A sub-committee of the convention, appointed earlier to consider the Muslim demands, advised total rejection of these amendments. Jinnah, however, being still hopeful, decided to place his case before the convention. But despite his strong pleas for unity and a practical approach to the communal issue, he failed to move the convention. The representatives of the Mahasabha were adamant and threatened to withdraw from the conference if the Muslim amendments were accepted. Even the representatives of the Congress, who had originally agreed

to the Delhi proposals, bowed before the threats of the Mahasabha. There was little doubt left now that the Congress was essentially a Hindu body and that it paid only lip service to the ideals of Hindu-Muslim unity. Jinnah who was one of the sponsors of the All-Parties Conference was disillusioned and he aptly described his failure at the convention as 'parting of the ways'. Despite his prophetic warnings, the All-Parties convention adopted the Nehru Report without a single alteration. Thus the Nehru Report led to widening rather than bridging the gulf between Hindus and Muslims. Soon after the adoption of the Nehru Report by the all-parties convention Jinnah formulated the Muslim demands which later on came to be known as his Fourteen Points.

One important result of the Nehru Report was that it tended to unite the hitherto divided Muslims. An All-Parties Muslim Conference, representing all shades of Muslim opinion, was held at Delhi on 31 December 1928 and 1 January 1929 under the chairmanship of the Aga Khan. It passed a lengthy resolution reiterating the community's demands for the maintenance of separate electorates, statutory majorities in the Muslim provinces of the Panjab and Bengal, one-third representation at the Centre and a federal form of government with residuary powers vesting in the provinces. It was also made clear that "no constitution, by whomsoever proposed or desired, will be acceptable to Indian Musalmans unless it conforms with principles embodied in this resolution".

The Simon Report

The British government announced in November 1927 the appointment of a commission headed by Sir John (later Viscount) Simon to examine the question of future constitutional concessions. The appointment of such a commission had been provided for in the Government of India Act, 1919. This commission, consisting of seven members of the British Parliament, paid two prolonged visits to India. The first lasted from 3 February to 31 March 1928 and the second from 11 October 1928 to 13 April 1929. The Congress boycotted and refused to assist the Commission in any way. This decision had its repercussions on the League. The section led by Jinnah favoured boycott, whereas the section

led by Mian Muhammad Shafi stood for co-operation with the commission. These two leaders had already disagreed on the issue of electorates in March 1927. Their differences were further deepened and led to a split in the All-India Muslim League. Consequently, in December 1927 the two rival Leagues met separately at Calcutta and Lahore under the presidentship of Maulavi Mohammad Yaqub and Mian Mohammad Shafi respectively. Despite the opposition of the Congress, the Simon Commission was able to complete its work. Its report, published in two volumes in 1930, recommended the abolition of Dyarchy and the setting up of a federal form of government with maximum autonomy for the provinces; the continuation of separate electorates and the maintenance of weightages in Muslim minority provinces. It did not accept the Muslim demand of raising the N.-W.F.P. to the status of a Governor's province as its members did not agree with the need for constitutional advance in that area. The other two Muslim demands, namely one-third representation at the Centre and statutory majorities in the Panjab and Bengal, were also rejected. The commissioners were inclined to support the separation of Sind from Bombay but postponed decision till the financial implications of separation were fully examined. The commission recommended fair representation for the minorities not only in the legislatures but also in the executive.

Round Table Conference

For the discussion of the constitutional problem the British government convened a Round Table Conference at London which held three sessions in 1930, 1931 and 1932. The Congress refused to participate in the first session, and launched a civil disobedience movement. The Muslims stayed away from this movement which, in the words of Mohamed Ali, aimed not at "the complete independence of India but at making the seventy millions of Indian Musalmans dependants of the Hindu Mahasabha". The civil disobedience campaign was, however, called off as a result of the Irwin-Gandhi pact and the Congress agreed to participate in the second session of the Round Table Conference with Gandhi as its only spokesman. But nothing concrete resulted from the Conference except that a federal form of government was to be set up and that the N.-W.F.P. was to be upgraded to the

status of a Governor's province. The communal issue remained unsettled. The question of separate electorates and Muslim representation in various legislatures evoked heated discussions but led to no decision. Gandhi wished to postpone the consideration of these issues till some later date; the Muslim delegates wanted a clear settlement. Consequently, the Brtish government found a way out of the deadlock by announcing its own decision known as the Communal Award. This scheme fixed the representation of various communities in the provincial legislatures. Separate electorates were retained. Weightage was given to Muslims in Muslim minority provinces, to Europeans in Bengal and Assam, to the Sikhs in the Panjab and N.-W.F.P. and to the Hindus in Sind and N.-W.F.P. The final decision about the separation of Sind was deferred till some satisfactory means of financing it could be found.

Sir Muhammad Iqbal

During the thirties of the century the political life of the Muslims entered a new phase. The name of the poet-philosopher, Muhammad Iqbal deserves special mention in this connection. His contribution to the growth of Muslim opinion, which ultimately led to the creation of Pakistan, was momentous. He was born in 1873 at Sialkot in West Pakistan. After receiving his early education at Sialkot and Lahore he proceeded to Europe in 1905 for the study of philosophy and law. He obtained a doctorate from the University of Munich and was called to the Bar. On his return home in 1908, he taught philosophy at Government College, Lahore, and established his legal practice. He also devoted his time and energy to philosophic and literary studies. From his early youth he had attracted the attention of his countrymen as a promising poet. A philosopher by temperament he was not interested in politics. But the political circumstances of the last decade of his life forced him to take some part in politics. In 1926 he was elected to the Panjab Legislative Council; three years later he was chosen president of the All-India Muslim League which met for its annual session at Allahabad. In 1931 he attended the second session of the Round Table Conference.

It was at the Allahabad session of the League in December 1930 that Iqbal made his lasting contribution to Muslim politics.

In a highly philosphical address he surveyed the entire political and communal situation and strongly repudiated the idea of a united Indian nation in which the various sections of the Indian population would have to submerge their cultural identities. "To base a constitution," he stated, "on the concept of a homogeneous India or to apply to India principles dictated by British democratic sentiments is unwittingly to prepare her for a civil war". For the time being he was content with a federal system of government but he insisted that the residuary powers must necessarily rest with the component units. His ultimate goal, however, was "to see the Panjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North—west Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India". In propounding this solution of the communal problem he had gone farther than any other Muslim political leader. But it was to take his community some more years of hard experience to grasp the practical value of this idea. Iqbal's claim to greatness, however, does not rest solely on his ability to foresee the shape of things to come. He inspired his community with his soul-stirring poetry and gave it a sense of pride in the past and confidence in the future. He gave the Muslims a new vision and an intellectual basis for their faith. His ideal was the establishment of a society based on Islamic values.

The Government of India Act, 1935

In March 1933, the British government issued a 'white paper' containing their proposals for constitutional reform in India. A joint parliamentary committee, under the presidentship of Lord Linlithgow, was appointed in the following April to consider the 'white paper' and make recommendations for a new governmental structure in India. This committee sat for eighteen months and submitted its report in November 1934. The Government used this report as the basis of the Government of India Bill which was introduced in the House of Commons in January 1935. The Bill passed through the customary stages in Parliament, received the royal assent on 4 August 1935 and became the Government of India Act 1935.

The Act provided for an All-India federation with British Indian provinces and Princely states as its component units. The central federal government was, however, to come into existence only after the rulers representing half the population of all the states had consented to accede to the federation. The old dyarchical system established in the provinces under the Act of 1919 was replaced by responsible government. Sind was separated from Bombay and Orissa was created as a new province. These two new provinces together with North-West Frontier Province, which was made a Governor's province in 1932, raised the number of provinces to eleven. Three lists of subjects Federal, Provincial and Concurrent were prepared. Residuary powers were assigned neither to the Centre nor to the Provinces but were left to be allotted to either, at the discretion of the Governor-General.

The bicameral federal legislature was to consist of the Federal Assembly and the Council of State. The members of the Federal Assembly were to be indirectly elected by Provincial legislatures; those of the Council of State were to be elected directly. The life of the former was to be five years while the latter was to be a permanent body, one-third of whose members were to retire after every three years. Communal electorates were to continue and allocation of seats to various communities was to be made in accordance with the Communal Award. The Federal Legislature was empowered to make laws on all subjects included in the federal list. This power was, however, seriously restricted by the ordinance and law-making power of the Governor-General, his special responsibilities and his power to suspend the Constitution in case of an emergency. Dyarchy, which was abolished in the provinces, was to be introduced at the Centre. Certain Central subjects, such as Foreign Affairs, Defence and Finance, were to be administered by the Governor-General with the assistance of three counsellors holding office for five years and responsible to him and not to the legislature. The Governor-General was to be aided by Ministers responsible to the legislature for the administration of other federal subjects. Important minorities were to be represented in the ministry.

The provincial legislatures were empowered to enact laws on all subjects included in the provincial and concurrent lists provided such laws did not conflict with the federal laws. The

prior sanction of the Governor-General was required for any bill affecting any act of Parliament extending to British India, any act or ordinance issued by the Governor-General in his discretion and any matter in which the Governor-General was required to act in his individual judgment. In the provincial executive sphere the distinction between Reserved and Transferred departments was abolished. Responsible government of a parliamentary type was to be introduced. 'Autonomy' was to replace the old 'Dyarchy'. The Governor was to be aided and advised by a council of Ministers including the members of important minority communities. The Ministers were to be chosen from the legislature and were to be responsible to it. The Governor, like the Governor-General, was given certain extraordinary powers which he was to exercise as his 'special responsibilities'. These included the prevention of any grave menace to the peace and tranquillity of the province and the safeguarding of the interests of minorities, etc. In these matters he was to exercise his individual judgment and could disregard the advice of his ministers. Besides these, he had certain other powers which he exercised in his discretion. These included his power to issue ordinances which would have the force of law for a fixed period, the appointment and dismissal of Ministers and the power to suspend the Constitution and take over the administration of the province. In all other matters he was to act in consultation with his Ministers.

The Government of India Act 1935 represented a definite advance over the previous constitutional provisions, but it fell far short of Dominion Status which was implied in the promises of the British government. Since it did not concede full self-government at the Centre, it was rejected by popular opinion. Jinnah described it as "thoroughly rotten, fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable". The Indian Princes, moreover, raised a number of objections and, therefore, the implementation of the federal part of the Act was first postponed and then, after the declaration of World War II and other political developments, completely abandoned.

(*For reading list see end of Chapter XIV*)

CHAPTER XIV

The Reorganisation of the Muslim League

Both the All-India Muslim League and the Congress had disapproved of the federal part of the Act of 1935. They were, however, ready to try the provincial part of the new constitution; the League to utilize it "for what it was worth" and the Congress "to combat and seek the end of it". Both the organisations, therefore, set up their respective electoral machineries to contest the forthcoming elections. The manifesto of the League did not materially differ from that of the Congress. The League wished to co-operate with the Congress and recalled the accord of Lucknow in 1916 as "a signal proof of the identity of purpose, earnestness and co-operation between the two great sections of the people of India".

The elections were held in the winter of 1936-37. Although the Congress, which was the oldest, the richest and the best organized political party, fared better than any other single political organization, it failed to secure even fifty per cent of the total number of seats. The results of the elections clearly disproved Gandhi's contention that the Congress represented 95

per cent of the population of India. Its success, moreover, was mainly confined to the Hindu constituencies. Out of the 491 Muslim constituencies, the Congress captured 26 and the League 106. The League was still a middle class organisation with insufficient funds and only one English daily to represent its point of view. Its mass appeal and phenomenal rise came later.

The final results of the elections were known in February 1937. The Congress was returned with clear majorities in five provinces, namely, Madras, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa. It was naturally jubilant over its success, but it went so far in its triumphant mood as to deny the very existence of other parties. Pandit Nehru, the then Congress president, openly declared that "there were only two parties in the country, the Congress and the British". The main target of this attack was the Muslim League. But Jinnah was conciliatory and ready to work in collaboration with the Congress. The Congress took no notice of his offer and went ahead with the formation of ministries in the provinces. The Muslim League expected its own representatives to be included in the provincial cabinets. This expectation was evidently based on the recommendations of the Simon Commission, the discussions at the Round Table Conference and the Instrument of Instructions issued to the provincial Governors. The very institution of separate electorates, moreover, necessitated Muslim representation in the cabinets. But the Congress took a different view of the matter and refused coalition with the League on the ground that British parliamentary practice did not admit of coalitions. The needs of a heterogeneous society where majorities and minorities were permanently fixed were, thus, completely ignored. The Congress did not stop here but launched a mass contact movement with a view to weaning the Muslims away from the Muslim League. The refusal to share power with the Muslims, on the one hand, and an attempt to discredit the League, on the other, alienated the Muslims and aroused their worst fears.

The Congress had formed single-party ministries in five provinces. With the help of small minority groups it was also able to form ministries in Bombay and the North-Westen Frontier Province. Thus there were Congress ministries in seven out of eleven provinces of British India. The only chance for the Muslims

was now to reorganize themselves and strengthen the League. It was against this background that the All-India Muslim League met for its annual session at Lucknow in October 1937. Speaking from the presidential chair Jinnah declared that "safeguards and settlements would be scraps of paper unless they are backed by power. Politics means power and not relying on cries of justice or fairplay or goodwill". He strongly appealed to the Muslims to join the League and strengthen it as the Hindus had clearly shown that "the Musalmans cannot expect any justice or fairplay at their hands". The immediate effect of this speech was that Sikandar Hayat Khan, the Premier of the Panjab, Fazl-ul-Haq, the Premier of Bengal, and Mohammad Sa'adullah, the Premier of Assam, came into the League. With these Premiers behind Jinnah, who had by now come to be known as Qaid-i-A'zam, the League became a power which it had never been throughout its history. Within a few months of the Lucknow session, 170 new branches of the League were established and about 100,000 new members were enrolled in the United Provinces alone. Another important step taken by the Muslim League at the Lucknow session was to change its creed to "full independence in the form of a federation of free democratic states in which the rights and interests of the Musalmans and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the constitution".

Congress in Power

The Congress ministries remained in power from July 1937 to November 1939. During their tenure of office they used their power to humiliate the Muslims. In the legislative assemblies of the Congress-governed provinces proceedings were opened with a recital of *Vande Mataram* which was accepted by the Congress as a national song. This song was anti-Islamic as well as idolatrous and hence distasteful to the Muslims. It had first appeared in Bankim Chandra Chatterji's Bengali novel *Anand Math* which depicted the Muslims as unclean and aggressive foreigners. When the Qaid-i-A'zam protested against this song in a written communication to Nehru, the latter replied that "popular songs are not made to order, nor can they be successfully imposed, they grow out of public sentiment". The *Pirpur Report* which was prepared by a committee appointed by the League, under the

presidentship of Raja Muhammad Mehdi of Pirpur, to inquire into the Muslim grievances in the Congress-governed provinces, brought to light, among other things, a circular letter issued by the chairman of Chandwar Local Board in the Central Provinces to the headmasters of Urdu schools ordering official celebration of "the birthday of the great personality of Mahatma Gandhi who had given the message of truth and non-violence (*satya* and *ahimsa*) to the world". The circular also insisted that "the picture of Mahatma Gandhi should be worshipped and his high ideals explained". The text-books used in schools in the Congress provinces were "mainly devoted to the praise of Hindu religion, philosophy and heroes". In a press statement in December 1939 Fazl-ul-Haq said that the policy of the Congress was that "the religion of the Muslims must be humbled because was not this the land of the Hindus? Hence the forbidding of *azan*, attacks on worshippers in mosques, (and) insistence on triumphant passage of noisy processions before mosques at prayer times". Muslims were victimised on small pretexts and attempts were made even to influence the judiciary against them. In a murder case in Chandpur Biswa, a small village in Berar, about 150 Muslim men, women and children were collectively accused of murder and a punitive tax was imposed on the entire Muslim population of the village. The High Court judgment was revealing. It read: "The case has been treated as some gruesome festival in which witness had vied with witness to see how many Muslims he could be instrumental in sending to the gallows. We find a deep-laid concert on the part of those witnesses to bring in every Mohammedan they possibly can, just because he is a Mohammedan".

The War and its aftermath

The Second World War started in September 1939. With the commencement of hostilities in Europe, the Viceroy proclaimed a state of war against Germany. The Congress High Command refused to help the war effort and decided to quit office. The war, they said, had been declared without consulting them. Thus the Congress rule came to an end after more than two years. The Muslims celebrated 22 December 1939 as 'Deliverance Day' throughout the subcontinent. During the preceding two years

the Qaid-i-A'zam had emerged as the unrivalled leader of the Muslims and had reorganised the League and made it a force to be reckoned with. No solution of the Indian political problem could be imposed on the Muslims without its consent and co-operation.

It may be recalled that the Muslims had very enthusiastically championed a federal form of government for India at the Round Table Conference. But they were not reconciled to the federal part of the Act of 1935. Moreover, they were disillusioned by the Congress rule in various provinces. That is why, they completely rejected the 'federal objective' because it was "totally unsuited to the genius of the peoples of this country which is composed of various nationalities and does not constitute a nation state". The Muslims had begun to think of an independent homeland for themselves in the subcontinent.

In the days of Sir Syed, Syed Jamaluddin Afghani dreamt of the emergence of a Muslim Republic embracing the present Central Asian Socialist Republics, Afghanistan and the Muslim majority areas in the North-West of the subcontinent. In 1890 the famous novelist Abdul Halim Sharar thought it would be wise "to partition India into Hindu and Muslim provinces and exchange the population". Vilayatali, who wrote under the penname of Bambooque in the *Comrade,* thought that the segregation of the Hindus and the Muslims and the division of the subcontinent was desirable. In October 1917 in the Stockholm Conference of the Socialist International, the Kheiri brothers submitted a scheme for the formation of a separate federation of the Muslim areas of the subcontinent. Sardar Gul Mohammad, President of the Islamic Anjuman of Dera Ismail Khan suggested in his evidence before the North-West Frontier Committee appointed by the Government of India under the Chairmanship of Sir Dennis Gray that India should be divided and the Muslims should be given all the area from Peshawar to Agra. Mohamed Ali stoutly defended the right of self-determination of the north-western part of the subcontinent without mentioning how deep that area could be. His only limit was that this could not happen to "areas situated in the heart of India, for separation is not physically possible". Then came Iqbal's famous address to which reference has already been made. Chaudhuri Rahmat Ali who was a student at Cambridge in England issued an appeal in 1933 for the partition of the

subcontinent under the title "*Now or Never*". After 1937 quite a number of schemes aiming at various degrees of division were published by several distinguished Muslims.

In a letter dated 21 June 1937, Iqbal wrote to the Qaid-i-A'zam, "To my mind the new constitution with its idea of a single Indian federation is completely hopeless. A separate federation of Muslim provinces . . . is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims. Why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are". After having experienced the dangers of a constitution in which the Hindus were likely to dominate the Muslims permanently, the League was driven to seek a radical solution.

The Lahore Resolution

In March 1940 the League held its annual session at Lahore. In this historic Session, the Qaid-i-A'zam narrated the events of the last few months in an extempore speech on 22 March and presented his own solution of the Muslim problem. "The problem in India", he said, "is not of an intercommunal character but manifestly of an international one and must be treated as such". The differences between the Hindus and the Muslims were so great and so sharp that their continued union under one central government was fraught with serious risks. They belonged, he declared, to two separate and distinct nations and, therefore, the only chance open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing it into autonomous national states. On 23 March A. K. Fazl-ul-Haq moved the historic resolution which has since come to be known as the Lahore Resolution or Pakistan Resolution. This Resolution declared, "That no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, namely, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial re-adjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign".

The Resolution repudiated the unity of India and recommended the creation of independent Muslim states consisting of the Panjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the north-west and Bengal and Assam in the north-east. The Resolution had simply laid down the principle. The details were left to be worked out, and it was soon made clear that the two states described in the Resolution were to be, in fact, one state under one central government.

The Qaid-i-A'zam and the Muslim League decided upon the partition of the subcontinent after trying all possible avenues of a peaceful agreement with the Hindu leaders. The attitude of the Hindu leaders convinced him and other leaders of the League that the Muslims could safeguard their religion and culture only in a separate country. The Hindu press and the Hindu leaders condemned the Muslim demand for a homeland and questioned Muslim title to nationhood. The differences between the Hindus and the Muslims are fundamental and historical. They differ not only in religion but they belong to two different civilisations. Indeed, it would be difficult to find two peoples so radically different from each other. The real test of nationalism, however, is a subjective one. In the words of a British writer, "Any territorial community the members of which are conscious of themselves as members of a community and wish to maintain the identity of their community, is a nation". This basic desire of sharing the joys and sorrows of life together and having common political aspirations for the future were distinctly absent in the members of the two communities. The Muslims, moreover, constituted local majorities in the areas which were to be included in the proposed state of Pakistan. They were, therefore, entitled to be ranked as a nation.

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CHAPTER XV

The Struggle for Pakistan

August Offer of 1940

From the beginning of the Second World War the British government had desired the co-operation of the peoples of the subcontinent in winning the war. It was with this end in view that Viceroy Linlithgow made an important declaration in August 1940 commonly called the August Offer. He offered to expand his Executive Council to include the representatives of the various communities and set up a War Advisory Council. Ruling out fundamental changes during the war, he promised a new approach to the constitutional question after the termination of hostilities and announced that the British government could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life.

The Muslim League was satisfied with the assurance that no future constitution would be framed or enforced without its consent and approval. It accepted the offer and made it clear

that "the partition of India is the only solution of the most difficult problem of India's future constitution". The Congress, on the other hand, rejected the offer primarily because of the assurance given to the minorities, and launched a campaign of civil disobedience. The Government promptly interned the principal leaders of this movement. In the meantime the Qaid-i-A'zam had declared that he would not be a party to any change in the composition of the central government unless it was arranged on a basis of parity between the Hindus and the Muslims. When the Viceroy formed a National Defence Council in 1941, the Qaid-i-A'zam directed its Muslim League members to resign.

The Cripps Mission

The entry of Japan in the war in December 1941 and its sweeping victories in the next few months completely changed the picture of the war. The Allied position in the South-East Asia deteriorated rapidly as the British armies were suffering defeats almost everywhere. Singapore, the stronghold of the Allies, surrendered in February 1942 and Rangoon fell a month later. The subcontinent was evidently the next target. The British government realized that they could not defend their empire against the Japanese onslaught without the co-operation and support of the subject peoples. Forced by circumstances as well as the pressure of the United States, Churchill, the British Prime Minister, despatched Sir Stafford Cripps on a mission of conciliation to New Delhi in March 1942. Cripps was known for his sympathies with the Congress and was a personal friend of some of its leaders. His selection was, therefore, in the nature of a friendly gesture to the Hindus. The draft declaration which he carried from London was published soon after his arrival. It stated that an elected body was to be set up after the war to frame a new constitution. A province or a group of provinces which wished to remain out of the Indian Union would have the option to do so and could form an independent government of its own. The declaration stated that no major constitutional change was to be made during the war and that the defence of India was to remain the responsibility of the British government, but efforts were to be made for "the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the

counsels of the country, of the Commonwealth and the United Nations."

The Congress rejected the Cripps proposals outright and demanded the establishment of a free 'national', that is, a Congress, government at once. It was also unhappy at the right allowed to the provinces to keep out of the Union and described it as "a severe blow to the conception of Indian unity". The League, too, rejected the offer as the plan held out no guarantee that it would lead to the establishment of Pakistan. It could not compel the Muslims, said the League resolution, "to enter such a constitution-making body whose main object is the creation of a new Indian Union". Thus the Cripps proposals were rejected both by the Hindus and the Muslims, though for different reasons. The failure of the Cripps Mission clearly indicated that the Hindu-Muslim differences were too deep-rooted to be reconciled by such half-measures as Sir Stafford had proposed. Gandhi, who was in full control of the Congress party, would have nothing short of complete independence for a united India. The differences between various parties, he believed, could be resolved only after the withdrawal of British authority. By this time he had also discarded his pacifist ideas although he never admitted it openly. "Leave India in God's hands", he told the British, "...then all parties will fight one another like dogs or will when real responsibility faces them come to a reasonable agreement".

Shortly after the departure of Sir Stafford, the Congress raised the 'Quit India' slogan which was accompanied with a threat of civil disobedience. But before the movement could go very far the Government ordered the arrest of the principal Congress leaders. Their internment was followed by well-planned and widespread disorders, as a result of which serious damage was done to public property throughout the subcontinent. The Muslims stayed away from the movement and made it clear that "this movement is directed not only to coerce the British government into handing over power to Hindu oligarchy . . . but also to force the Muslims to submit and surrender to Congress terms and dictation".

There were no changes in the political situation between the 'Quit India' movement and the summer of 1944. Most of the Congress leaders were in jail and the British government was busy

in the prosecution of war. The Muslim League, however, gained in strength and emerged as the undisputed representative of the Muslims. All other political parties which claimed to lead the Muslims had receded into the background. The idea of a separate homeland had an irresistible appeal for the Muslims and the Qaid-i-A'zam exercised unprecedented sway over the Muslim masses. In May 1944 Gandhi was released from prison on grounds of health and he entered into prolonged negotiations with the Qaid-i-A'zam on the constitutional issue. The ground for the meeting had been prepared by C. Rajagopalachari, a front-rank Congressman and a former Premier of Madras. But these talks proved fruitless. The two leaders viewed the political problem from very different angles. Gandhi wanted that the Muslims should join the Congress and that the two communities should settle their differences after the withdrawal of the British. The Qaid, on the other hand, demanded that the settlement must precede independence. It is not difficult to see why Gandhi wished to postpone the settlement.

The Wavell Plan and the Simla Conference

When the two leaders failed to reach an agreement, the British government made a new offer in June 1945. This was the Wavell Plan. Viceroy Wavell declared that he was ready to reconstitute his Council in such a way as to comprise Hindu and Muslim representatives in equal proportion. He called a conference of representatives of the major parties at Simla for the purpose of discussing his proposals. Gandhi declined to attend and suggested that Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress president, should be invited to represent the Congress. By making this suggestion he was, in fact, denying the claim of the Qaid-i-A'zam to speak for the Muslims. The Viceroy, however, assented to Gandhi's request. The Conference began on 25 June. The Viceroy asked the various party leaders to recommend to him panels of names from which he could select the members of his new Executive Council. The list submitted by the Congress included the names of two Congressite Muslims. The Qaid-i-A'zam protested against this on the ground that the Muslim League alone was competent to nominate the Muslim members. Jinnah's stand was correct. According to the text of the Wavell Plan, nominations were to be

based on communities rather than parties. Moreover, this arrangement was calculated to put "the Pakistan issue . . . into cold storage indefinitely".

The Simla Conference failed on account of the refusal of the British government as well as the Congress party to recognise the Muslim League as the only representative organization of the Muslims. It is true that the League had not done so well in the general elections of 1937, but the situation had radically changed. Under the dynamic leadership of the Qaid-i-A'zam, the League alone reflected the aspirations of the Muslim masses. The results of the bye-elections and the decline of Congress influence among the Muslims clearly revealed the strength of the League. Between 1937 and 1943 there were 61 bye-elections to the provincial Muslim seats out of which the League won 47, Independent Muslims 10 and the Congress 4. Between 1943 and 1945 there were 11 bye-elections. The League secured 8, Independent Muslims 3 and the Congress failed to secure even one seat. In the bye-elections to the Central Legislature the League won all the four seats. The League was now prepared to face the electorate on the issue of partition. The opportunity came sooner than expected. Elections to the Central and provincial legislatures were held in the winter of 1945-46.

The Congress had all along claimed to represent both Hindus and Muslims and to speak on behalf of all sections of the population. It employed all sorts of arguments for a united India. In its view the Muslim League constituted only a thin layer of the Muslim community, and was completely out of touch with the Muslim masses. The Muslim League, on the other hand, claimed to represent the entire Muslim community which solidly supported the demand for Pakistan. It was on these two issues that the elections were fought. The League secured 425 out of 441 Muslim seats in the provincial legislatures and won all the Muslim seats in the Central legislature. The Qaid-i-A'zam's claim to speak on behalf of the Muslims was completely vindicated.

Cabinet Mission Plan

After the elections, the British government sent a Mission of three Cabinet ministers with a view to bringing about a Hindu-Muslim agreement on the constitutional issue. The Mission, which

reached India in March 1946, consisted of Pethick-Lawrence, Stafford Cripps, and A. V. Alexander. They had brought no concrete proposals. It was hoped that a solution would emerge from mutual talks. After a series of interviews, conferences and lengthy correspondence, the Mission realised that the Hindus and the Muslims led by the Congress and the League respectively spoke not only in divergent but irreconcilable terms. The one stood for the unity of India and the other demanded its division for a separate homeland. The Mission, therefore, announced its own plan on 16 May.

Under the Mission's 'compromise formula' India was to remain united and the right of self-determination was apparently conceded to the Muslims. The Central government was to administer Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications only and had the power to raise finances for the discharge of these functions. All other subjects, as well as the residuary powers, were to be vested in the provinces. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Central legislature was to require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as majority of all the members present and voting. The provinces were to form groups in accordance with the scheme laid down by the Mission. The three groups of provinces were: (A) Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa; (B) The Panjab, the North-West Frontier Province and the Sind; (C) Bengal and Assam. A constituent assembly consisting of 292 members from the British Indian provinces and 93 members from States was to frame the constitution. The scheme envisaged a three-tier federation with the provinces at the bottom and the union at the top; each tier was to have its own paraphernalia of government, executive, legislature and judiciary. After the settlement of preliminaries the constitution-makers were to meet in three separate sections corresponding to the three groups of provinces. These three groups were then to frame provincial and, if necessary, group constitutions. The three groups were later to reassemble for framing the constitution of the Union and ratifying the decisions taken at the sectional meetings. The Mission also stressed the importance of setting up an interim government immediately with the support of the major political parties.

The Cabinet Mission scheme was, thus, divided into two parts, a long-term plan and a short term one. These two parts of the scheme, the Mission emphasised, were inter-dependent and were to be accepted or rejected as a whole. It was made abundantly clear that if either of the two major parties refused to join the interim government, the Viceroy would seek the help of other parties or groups willing to come in. The Mission was sure that the Congress would accept the plan. Its members were equally sure that the Muslim League would not even touch it. But, contrary to their expectations, the League accepted the entire Plan in the hope that it would ultimately lead to the establishment of Pakistan. The Congress, on the other hand, accepted the long-term part of the Plan but refused to join the interim government. The Mission was thus committed to set up the proposed interim government without the representatives of the Congress Party, but its members tried to quibble out of their undertaking and postponed the establishment of a new government. The Muslim League rightly interpreted this as a breach of faith, withdrew its earlier acceptance of the Mission Plan and decided to resort to direct action to achieve Pakistan.

When the Muslim League withdrew acceptance of the Plan, the Congress decided to accept the short term part of the Plan as well. On 24 August 1946 the Viceroy hastily inducted the Congress nominees in his interim cabinet with Jawaharlal Nehru as Vice-President. The League leaders soon realised that it would be fatal to Muslim interests to leave the Central government entirely in the Hindu hands in those critical days when the Hindus were planning large scale massacres of Muslims. The Viceroy, moreover, was keen on Muslim co-operation. The League, therefore, joined the interim government in October. But this experiment of Hindus and Muslims working together in one government was a dismal failure. The cabinet was seriously divided from within. Its members quarrelled over every issue that came up for consideration.

Although the League had joined the interim government, it was not prepared to enter the Constituent Assembly till a decision was taken on the 'grouping clauses' of the Cabinet Mission Plan. While the Congress upheld the right of a province to stay away from the group to which it had been assigned by the Mission

Plan, the Muslim League insisted that grouping was compulsory and vital to the whole scheme. It was on this very understanding that the League had originally accepted the Plan. Gandhi himself instigated Assam to stay out and Nehru claimed that once the Constituent Assembly met, the provisions of the Plan would not be binding and the Assembly could do whatever it liked. There was no meeting ground between these two points of view. Consequently, the British government was obliged to summon the Viceroy, the Qaid-i-A'zam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Liaqat Ali Khan, Jawaharlal Nehru and Baldev Singh to London in December 1946, for a settlement of this controversy. The purpose of the Plan was to grant the right of self-determination to the Muslims in a united India. The British Ministers were fully aware of this and they upheld the League's interpretation of the scheme in the following words: "The Cabinet Mission had throughout maintained the view that decision of the Sections should, in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, be taken by a simple majority vote of the representatives in the Sections. This view has been accepted by the Muslim League, but the Congress has put forward a different view. They have asserted that the true meaning of the statement, read as a whole, is that the provinces have the right to decide both as to grouping and as to their own constitutions". This declaration was unambiguous. But, strangely enough, Nehru continued to insist that his own interpretation was correct.

The Constituent Assembly met on 9 December but the League representatives kept away from it. They would not have anything to do with this body, unless the Congress sincerely accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan by adhering to its grouping provisions. The Congress now maintained that since the League representatives had not attended the meeting of the Constituent Assembly they must also resign from the interim government. In the meantime serious communal riots broke out at several places. The subcontinent was on the verge of a civil war. Even in the civil and defence services the Hindus and the Muslims were split into hostile blocks. The Government found it difficult to maintain law and order. Something had to be done quickly. To prevent the situation from worsening, Attlee, the British Prime Minister, announced on 20 February 1947 that Britain would withdraw from

the subcontinent by June 1948 at the latest. "His Majesty's Government", he further declared, "will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over, on the due date; whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India; or in some areas to the existing provincial governments, or in such other way as may seem most reasonable in the best interests of the Indian people". For effecting the actual transfer of power Lord Mountbatten was appointed Viceroy in place of Wavell.

Soon after this historic announcement the Unionist ministry in the Panjab, led by the puppet Premier Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, submitted its resignation. The Muslims constituted 57 per cent of the total population of the province but their representation in the legislature had been reduced to 48 per cent on account of the heavy weightage allowed to the Sikhs under the Communal Award. Although the Muslim League had won 79 out of 86 Muslim seats in the elections of 1946, it was unable to form the ministry. Khizar had been installed in office of Chief Minister with the help of Congress and Sikh members and was pledged to oppose the demand for Pakistan. His ministry was far from representative and his administration was uneasy and precarious. He had banned meetings all over the province and completely denied civil liberties to the people to keep himself in power and silence all opposition. His government was harsh in its dealings with the workers of the Muslim League. A peaceful civil disobedience movement was consequently launched against his regime in which practically all sections of the Muslim population participated. Women were no less active in expressing their enthusiasm for Pakistan. Huge processions of burqa clad women marching on the streets shouting anti-Khizar slogans was an everyday occurrence in the bigger cities of the province. This general resentment and widespread agitation against the ministry forced Khizar Hayat Khan to resign.

Similar agitations were going on in Assam and the North West Frontier Province. In the latter province Dr. Khan Sahib, the Congress Premier, had adopted repressive measures to stifle the movement in favour of a Muslim homeland. The principal local leaders of the League had been thrown into prison and meetings and processions were forbidden. Despite these restrictions

processions continued to come out. "As in the Panjab", says Ian Stephens, "feminist activity was in evidence, which startled those knowing how strict purdah had been on the Frontier till very recently. Ladies of upper middle-class families more than once scaled ladders propped against the walls of jails which housed political prisoners and brandished League flags aloft". With the League ministries working successfully in Sind and Bengal and strong and well-disciplined movements going on in other parts of the proposed state of Pakistan, the Muslim India had given its unquestionable verdict in favour of partition. When Mountbatten, the new Viceroy, reached India in March 1947, he found himself facing a highly explosive situation. Indeed, a civil war was already going on in the shape of deadly communal riots all over the subcontinent. Mountbatten immediately entered into negotiations with the leaders of the various political parties. Although a strong supporter of the Congress, he was soon convinced that the only way to save the situation was to partition the subcontinent. He rushed back to London in the end of May for consultations with the British government. After his return on 2 June, he made an important declaration on the following day. This is known as the Mountbatten Plan of 3 June. It provided that the areas of the subcontinent not represented in the Constituent Assembly were to decide whether their constitution was to be framed by the existing Constituent Assembly or by a new one. The procedure to ascertain the wishes of the people of these areas was to be as follows. The legislatures of the Panjab and Bengal were each to meet in two parts representing Muslim majority areas and the rest of the province. Each part was to decide by a simple majority whether the province was to be partitioned or not. If either of the two favoured partition, it was to be effected accordingly. The legislature of Sind was likewise given the choice to join the existing Constituent Assembly or the new one. In the North-West Frontier Province and the district of Sylhet in Assam the wishes of the people were to be known by referendum.

Both the Congress and the Muslim League accepted the Mountbatten Plan. The North-West Frontier Province, Sylhet, Sind and the Muslim majority areas of the Panjab and Bengal all voted in favour of Pakistan. Two boundary commissions headed

by a common chairman, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, were appointed to demarcate the boundaries between the new states of Pakistan and India. On 4 July 1947 the Indian Independence Bill was moved in the British Parliament which became an Act on 18 July. It provided for the creation of two new independent Dominions of Pakistan and India from 15 August 1947. The Act brought about the termination of British rule in the subcontinent and resulted in the establishment of Pakistan. Qaid-i-A'zam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, became its first Governor-General. The award of the Boundary Commission was deliberately dishonest having been given by Radcliffe not on merits but at the behest of Mountbatten on the basis of a secret understanding between the Congress and the British government. Large solidly Muslim areas were given to India on flimsy pretexts. Gurdaspur was given to India for giving her access to Kashmir.

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CHAPTER XVI

The New State and Its Problems

Early difficulties

Pakistan had no central government when it came into existence as an independent state on 15 August, 1947. The first task of its leaders was to set up a tolerably competent administration. The city of Karachi was chosen as capital. The fighting units of the Indian Army had been virtually dissolved and new ones had yet to be formed. The soldiers who had decided to join the Pakistan Army were either serving abroad or posted in India, so that there was not a single complete military unit at the disposal of the Government.

The erstwhile province of the Panjab had witnessed severe rioting. Master Tara Singh, a well-known Sikh leader had initiated this campaign of lawlessness by brandishing his sword and uttering a mouthful of threats against the Muslims on the steps of the provincial Assembly in the preceding March. The forces of violence, thus let loose, engulfed the whole province. Order ceased to exist and normal life was paralyed. The RSSS (Rashtariya Svem Sevak Sangh) led the reactionary Hindu parties in their unholy war of extermination against the Muslims in the

East Panjab after partition. Thousands of Muslims, who had sought refuge in the evacuee camps and were waiting to be expatriated to Pakistan, were butchered in cold blood. The dead, the maimed, and the starving filled the trains meant to carry the Muslim evacuees from the Indian province of East Panjab to Pakistan. Those who could not find transport started on foot and marched towards this country in long caravans. These caravans were attacked again and again and some of these were entirely liquidated before they could reach the destination.

The task of receiving, housing and feeding this vast ingress was colossal. The financial resources of the Government were strained to the limit. Law and order is liable to collapse in unsettled conditions. But it was the patriotism and self-denial of the people that pulled this country through the most precarious phase of its existence. Militarily the country was defenceless and Indian policies were calculated to stifle the new state. The Indian exchequer withheld the agreed amount of treasury balances due to Pakistan and the Indian arsenals refused to part with Pakistan's share of army stores and other items of defence equipment.

Pakistan was a new-comer to the comity of nations. It had yet to find its place in the international market. Pakistan areas were treated either as recruiting depots for the army or as producers of raw materials under the British. Their industrial development had been neglected. The commonest of consumers' goods had to be imported from abroad. Consequently, trade agreements had to be made with various countries. That needed time as well as effort. In the meantime, Pakistan was faced with an acute famine of commodities of everyday use.

A very large number of Hindus decided to leave East Pakistan and go to West Bengal. The decision, says Mr. Rushbrook Williams, was 'a matter of choice rather than of necessity. Those Hindus who opted to remain in East Pakistan felt and were perfectly safe ... Not a single Hindu temple was desecrated ... Hindus who had transferred their families to Calcutta were permitted to remain, and even to hold official positions in East Pakistan, while remitting their salaries to their wives and children. A similar arrangement was common in the case of Hindu business men.'

Pakistan's very existence was threatened by an unjust boundary award. Appointed under the Act of 1947, the commission to demarcate the boundaries between India and Pakistan was headed by an English jurist, Radcliffe. The League and the Congress were duly represented on the commission. But their far-reaching differences turned the presiding officer into an arbiter whose award was political rather than judicial. He gave away to India some sizable Muslim areas against the settled principles of territorial demarcation. In West Pakistan this threw the hydroelectric and canal system of the undivided Panjab out of gear. Madhopur and Ferozepur headworks of canals irrigating Pakistani areas were given away to India. The supply lines of the Mandi hydroelectric works were also disrupted. All this brought no end of problems for the new state.

The entire administration had to be built anew. The available materials were inadequate. The number of Muslim officials in the higher rungs of administration was insignificant. Most of those who came to Karachi had no experience of jobs awaiting them. Comparatively junior officers were promoted over-rapidly and placed in important positions. A number of British civil servants and technicians had to be retained in public service. The administration shaped out of diverse elements proved equal to trials and emergencies to which it was exposed from day to day.

The President of the All-India Muslim League on the eve of partition, the Qaid-i-A'zam became the first Governor-General of the country and was also elected President of the Constituent Assembly. He delegated the duties of the last-named office to the Deputy President. The clauses giving discretionary powers and special responsibilities to the Governor-General had been entirely deleted from the Constitution. But the Qaid-i-A'zam wielded a prodigious authority as the founder of the state. Under him the office of Governor-General was very different from its counterpart in other dominions. The people looked up to him as their father, not only as the chief executive of the nation. The members of the first cabinet were the personal appointees of the Qaid-i-A'zam. Not all of them were politicians. A. M. Malik was a medical practitioner with the background of a trade unionist. Finance Minister Ghulam Muhammad was a former civil servant who described himself as a technician. Zafarullah Khan, the first

Foreign Minister of the country, had made his mark as a lawyer and administrator. But he had practically no political following. Two new ministries, those of States and Frontier Regions and Refugees' Rehabilitation, were created, the former being held by the Qaid-i-A'zam himself.

The Qaid presided over the cabinet meetings and formulated policies. The Ministers and secretaries turned to him for advice and he kept in touch with the provincial Governors by fortnightly letters. He overshadowed and dwarfed the Prime Minister.

North-West Frontier Province

The affairs of the North-West Frontier Province soon claimed the attention of the Qaid-i-Azam. With a small majority in the legislature, the Khan Sahib ministry had been installed in office in 1946. But it soon grew unpopular. The hostility of the people of the Frontier and tribal areas towards Congress policies had been abundantly shown during Jawaharlal Nehru's winter tour of the region in 1946. The Chief Minister himself had informed Mountbatten of the popular feeling on the issue of partition. In the referendum held in accordance with the terms of the Act of 1947, the people had voted for the inclusion of the province in Pakistan. The result of popular vote amounted to a vote of no confidence against the ministry. The continued existence of the Congress ministry in the province was, therefore, anomalous. The Qaid-i-A'zam decided upon its removal and his order was carried out by the provincial Governor on 22 August 1947.

The key-note of the British policy in the Frontier had been a distrust of the tribes. The administration of the tribal areas was treated as a highly specialized function requiring an unusual insight into the seamy side of the human nature. The British rulers had evolved highly complex techniques for keeping their hold over the tribes. Subsidies, garrisons and punitive expeditions came to be regarded as the principal instruments of a successful frontier policy. The typical frontier official was proficient in the art of fomenting trouble between the tribes. The tribes themselves lived in isolation and had little contact with the people of the settled districts. The Pakistan Government discarded the weapons of old diplomacy. It began to treat the tribes as Muslims and Pakistanis and gave up the advanced military posts of Wana and

Razmak. This gesture had a magnetic effect in rallying the tribal sentiment on the side of Pakistan. Nevertheless, the Afghan-backed Faqir of Ipi continued to preach hatred against Pakistan and the activities of Indian propagandists continued unabated. But these did not make a serious impression on the tribes. The policy of trust elicited a magnificent response and Mehr Dil, a close follower of the Faqir, left him and crossed over to Pakistan. His example was followed by influential divines of the area. The Pakistan Government tackled the tribal problem with sympathy and imagination. It revived the economic life of the region by constructing roads and opening schools with the result that the barriers between the settled and unsettled districts of the province began to disappear. A feeling of interdependence is growing up between the two. Tribal chiefs spend a good part of their time at Peshawar. They have purchased landed property in the city and have acquired a substantial control over transport business in the area. Tribesmen accustomed to a life of adventure are learning to make a peaceful living. They drive buses, labour in the fields and seek employment in development projects.

The principal causes of tension in the North-West Frontier Province were gradually removed. But the accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir to India confronted the country with a series of menacing developments. This state had been conquered by Ranjit Singh about the year 1823 and made over to a Dogra chief, Gulab Singh, in 1845 for a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs. The proceeds went to make up the amount needed by the vanquished Sikh government of Lahore to pay the war indemnity due to the East India Company at the end of the First Sikh War. This was how a predominantly Muslim state with an area of 80,000 square miles came into the possession of an adventurer who ruled, or rather suppressed, its people with the help of Kashmiri Brahmians.

Kashmir Dispute

The state of Jammu and Kashmir comprised four distinct geographical divisions. The Jammu portion of it is a vast, under-populated hilly tract of rising hills beginning a few miles from the Pakistani district of Sialkot and ending in the Pir Panjal Pass with a height of 11,000 feet above the sea level. With its highly developed cottage industry, the valley of Kashmir is 6,000

feet above the sea level and is commonly called the 'paradise of habitable world' and abounds in flowers, fruit, and streams. The Buddhist territory of Laddakh also forms part of the state of Jammu and Kashmir and lies on the border of Tibet. Gilgit and Baltistan were poverty-stricken areas of the state inhabited by a race of sturdy mountaineers.

The state of Jammu and Kashmir has a common border with Pakistan which runs for about 250 miles. The valley itself was joined with the outside world by roads ending in the Pakistani towns of Sialkot and Rawalpindi and had old trade links with West Pakistan whose towns and cities afforded livelihood to thousands of migratory Kashmiri labourers in the winter months every year. Thus, economic interests, geographical nearness and cultural affinities demanded Kashmir's accession to Pakistan.

British paramountcy over the states lapsed on 15 August 1947. The Independence Act permitted them to join either Dominion or remain independent. The Dogra chief feigned indecision for a while. He entered into a 'standstill' agreement with this country. This amounted to a postal, communications and currency union between the contracting parties. Events showed that the treaty was a mere ruse. While Mountbatten had warned the rulers of the states to weigh the consequences of ignoring geographical compulsions before taking a decision on the accession issue, the Congress leaders were secretly preparing for Kashmir's union with India. The details of the conspiracy were somewhat obscure, but its purpose was transparent. Gandhi's own visit to Kashmir, in the summer of 1947, was a part of this plan.

A spontaneous armed rising against Dogra tyranny took place in Poonch on the eve of partition. The manpower of the district included recently released professional soldiers who fought desperately and inflicted heavy losses on the Dogra forces. The state battalions melted before their onslaught. There was widespread sympathy for the victims of Dogra misrule. Hundreds of war veterans from neighbouring districts rushed to their help. They were subsequently joined by hordes of fighters from the tribal territory.

This went on for weeks. It was at this stage that Sheikh Abdullah reappeared on the scene. Descended from a middle-class Kashmiri Muslim family, this popular leader was a former student of the

Muslim University of Aligarh who had entered life as a school teacher. The overgrowing misery of his people moved him to the depths of his being. He threw up his job in disgust and dedicated himself to the service of his people through the National Conference of which he was the founder and chief organizer. His politics often brought him into conflict with the darbar and he was gaoled on several occasions. He was still in prison when the British withdrew. The Congress leaders, who had no interest either in the welfare of the Kashmiris or their struggle for independence, had succeeded, some time earlier, in gaining Sheikh Abdullah's personal friendship and political alliance. Sheikh Abdullah was set free at the end of September. He paid a hurried visit to New Delhi where he was treated to a round of festivities.

The miscellaneous forces continued to march towards Srinagar. The Maharaja felt that his throne was tottering. He made an application for help and protection to New Delhi and was 'advised' to sign the instrument of accession before military help could be sent. The Dogra chief complied promptly. As a matter of fact, the whole plot had been carefully laid in advance. This was shown by the fact that India's armed forces were airlifted to the valley within the next 24 hours. The ruler fled to Jammu after signing the instrument of accession on 26 October 1947. A new government headed by Sheikh Abdullah was placed at the helm in Srinagar. India herself admitted that this accession was neither complete nor final and that it was to be ratified by a vote of the Kashmiri people. Mountbatten had insisted on this and received the Indian Prime Minister's assurance to that effect.

This accession had been made possible by the Radcliffe award which provided India with a narrow and unused passage into the State through the Muslim majority district of Gurdaspur which was unfairly joined to that country. The accession deed arbitrarily executed by an autocratic ruler was clearly invalid. But Indian leaders hailed this document as a triumph of their 'secular' ideas and repeatedly promised to have the accession ratified by a plebiscite. But their real intentions were hidden under a mass of verbiage. The Qaid-i-A'zam pleaded for the establishment of neutral administration in the State to create conditions for a fair and impartial referendum. This suggestion was, however, brushed aside by India. The squadrons of the Indian Air Force failed to bomb

the Baltistani and Gilgit parts of the State into surrender and gave up the job in despair. The hilly areas to the west of the valley witnessed the bitterest fighting. The Indian Army had superior arms. But the freedom-fighters, who were later joined by some units of the Pakistan Army, had an intimate knowledge of the terrain. The fighting promised to be long and inconclusive. In the meanwhile, the areas that had freed themselves from Dogra rule established a government of their own with headquarters at Muzaffarabad and named it Azad Jammu and Kashmir Government.

Apparently exhausted by this war, India appeared as the aggrieved party before the Security Council in January 1948 and demanded Pakistan's withdrawal from the State. The Security Council examined the issue at length and passed resolutions proposing the disposal of the State in accordance with the wishes of its people and requesting the two parties (India and Pakistan) to refrain from altering the *status quo* or worsening the existing state of their relations. These resolutions were accepted by India as well as Pakistan. The Security Council further constituted an international commission to visit the two countries and formulate the procedure for holding a plebiscite in consultation with the two governments. The commissioners arrived in the summer of 1948 and found that while Pakistan was ready to carry out the Security Council resolutions, India was imposing impossible conditions for holding the referendum.

Canal water Dispute

The unfair boundary award that had created the Kashmir problem also gave rise to the canal water dispute between India and Pakistan. Completed in the second decade of the 20th century, the splendid canal system of the undivided Panjab had turned arid expanses of the Panjab into the granary of Asia and created thriving centres of trade and commerce, like Lyallpur and Sargodha in the western and south-western Panjab. This irrigation system included 23 perennial and 8 non-perennial canals which served a total area of 23 million acres. The Radcliffe award broke this irrigation system by awarding to India the Madhopur and Ferozepur headworks of the canals irrigating the Pakistani districts. Pakistan was still left with 21 perennial canals and

8 non-perennial canals irrigating an area of 18 million acres, but the division furnished India with a deadly weapon against the agricultural economy of the Panjab. She was not slow in making this power felt. In April 1948, she cut off Pakistan's water supply without notice and created famine conditions in the affected areas. Pakistan's difficulty was India's opportunity. The representatives of this country led by Ghulam Mohammad approached the Indian leaders without any bargaining advantage. They surrendered the riparian rights of the country. They recognized India's ownership of the waters of the three eastern rivers, agreed to pay for the waters supplied to the Pakistani areas and pledged to contribute to the cost of maintaining the Madhopur headworks. Intended to overcome a temporary hardship, the treaty entailed permanent disabilities. Pakistan soon found itself in a desperate situation. India was very demonstrative about the exercise of its rights. Whenever the monsoons failed, the Indian authorities totally stopped the supply of canal water to Pakistan and this was generally followed by tedious negotiations leading to short term agreements fixing Pakistan's quota of water in Indian rivers. But this quota was not received regularly and was withheld in times of dire need. India would release Pakistan's share during heavy rains. This was useless at the receiving end and occasionally added to the violence of floods. In reply to Pakistan's demand for supplies of water, the unvarying Indian reply was 'your quota stands exhausted'. This continued and in 1953 the question was taken up at the international level.

Qa'id-i-A'zam passes away

The Qa'id-i-A'zam had a very precise mind. Most of his ideas had been shaped by his vocation. He was a constitutionalist who developed a remarkable insight into the limits of constitutionalism and compromise. His role in politics was altogether individual. He seldom followed the beaten track and never repeated the ideas of others. His rectitude in politics was proverbial. B. R. Ambedkar called him the 'most incorruptible politician' of undivided India. He had learnt from his experience the dangers of a united India for the Muslims. At an age when most people fade out of public life, he discovered the destiny of his people and led them to a homeland. He gave the watchwords of Unity, Faith and Disci-

pline to the nation that he had founded.

The Qaid-i-A'zam gave monetary independence to the country by establishing the State Bank of Pakistan and completed the judicial structure of the administration by creating the Federal Court. Under him Pakistan was admitted to the United Nations and entered into diplomatic relations with important countries. He appointed Feroze Khan Noon as his personal envoy to the countries of the Middle East and chose Sir Archibald Rowland as his financial advisor. However, his tenure of office proved brief. His slender health broke down under the strain of work. But he continued to attend to the business of state almost up to the end. Taken to Ziarat in the last months of his life, he was a dying man when he returned to Karachi on 11 September 1948. He breathed his last the same night. The country was plunged into irreparable sorrow.

(For reading list see end of Chapter XIX)

CHAPTER XVII

Delays and Difficulties in Constitution Making; Liaquat Ali Khan and Nazimuddin

The Qaid was succeeded by Khwaja Nazimuddin, Chief Minister since 1947, of the eastern province. Having held important ministerial offices since the days of Dyarchy, the new Governor-General had a long experience of public affairs and was closely associated with the Qaid-i-A'zam in all the negotiations leading to the transfer of power. He followed constitutional procedures and discontinued the Qaid-i-A'zam's practice of presiding over cabinet meetings. Despite the personal interest taken by the Qaid-i-A'zam in matters of policy, the routine administration had been in the hands of the prime minister. With the Qaid's death, the office of Prime Minister rapidly gained in prestige. Liaquat Ali Khan undertook extensive tours of the country, established contacts with the masses and gave leadership to parliament as well as to the people. He held a commanding position in the cabinet and took over the Qaid's own portfolio of Frontier States and Regions.

Objectives Resolution

The Constituent Assembly had a dual responsibility under the Independence Act. It was required to frame the new constitution and also to perform the duties of a Federal legislature. This body consisted of 69 members, all elected by the provincial assemblies. The addition of representatives from the states of Frontier, Baluchistan, Bahawalpur and Khairpur increased its strength to 79. The difficulties of constitution-making were unforeseen and the job did not receive due attention at the beginning. The time and energy of the Government were wholly consumed by the problems created by partition, namely, an unceasing and mounting flood of refugees, the economic disorganization caused by the migration of non-Muslims to India and the task of building up an administration.

The first step in the task of constitution-making was the Objectives Resolution. Proposed by the Prime Minister on 13 March 1949, it was accepted by the Assembly after a brief debate. It laid down certain fundamentals: Sovereignty vests in the Almighty and is to be exercized by the elected representatives of the people. Pakistan is to be a Federal republic founded on the Islamic principles of justice, tolerance and equality; its judiciary is to be independent; its minorities are to be protected and its Muslim population is to be enabled to live its life according to the principles of the Quran and precepts of the *Sunnah.* The Constituent Assembly set up a committee, known as the Basic Principles Committee, to frame a draft constitution. The Committee's report, presented at the end of September 1950, recommended a parliamentary form of government with a bicameral legislature and a cabinet responsible to parliament. The publication of the scheme evoked a storm of protest. East Pakistan did not like the proposed powers of the Central government and therefore the report had to be shelved and the Committee was instructed to explore the constitutional issue afresh giving careful consideration to suggestions received from groups and individuals.

Parliamentary government and parties

The record of the Constituent Assembly as federal legislature was not very impressive. Its sittings were brief and discussions casual. Bills brought before it were merely rubber-stamped.

It was quite usual for a bill to go through all the three readings and the committee stage in one hour. The Karachi Improvement Trust Bill, for instance, which was spread over 75 pages comprising as many as 175 clauses, was rushed through the House in an hour and a few minutes. Detailed discussions were mostly held in Muslim League Party meetings.

It is easy to understand why the growth of a constitutional opposition was delayed in Pakistan. The Muslim League had fought the battle for Pakistan and was regarded the symbol of national unity after partition. Other parties had been wiped out because they had generally opposed the establishment of a Muslim homeland. All power gravitated to the League because it commanded an unchallenged supremacy, both at the Centre and in the provinces. But this monopoly of power soon gave rise to factions and internal conflicts. This was most visible in the Panjab where the members of a small cabinet of four were sharply divided among themselves. The Qa'id had been unhappy with this state of affairs and had contemplated some remedy against this rot. He actually inserted section 92A in the adapted Act. The new provision was a modified form of section 93 of the Government of India Act of 1935 which permitted the Governor-General to take over the administration of a province in the event of a constitutional breakdown. Liaquat Ali Khan found that factionalism at the top imposed an unbearable strain on the services and had ruined the government of the province. Consequently, the Panjab ministry was dismissed and the Governor was directed to take over the administration of the province early in 1949.

Reports received from other provinces were also discouraging. Most of the Ministers were inexperienced. They seemed to be unaware of the responsibilities of office and lacked the qualities of restraint and self-denial in discharging their duties. Some of them were even believed to have abused political power for personal gain. The Prime Minister devised a radical cure for corruption in high places. Under the law, commonly known as PRODA (Public and Representative Officials Disqualification Act), Ministers, Deputy Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries charged with improper exercise of power could be put up for trial before tribunals constituted for this purpose. Those found guilty were to be made ineligible for office for a term of years. This

measure did some good. There were some trials, convictions and removals. But reformatory legislation can do more harm than good if it is not supported by a vigilant public opinion.

Elected in 1946 on the basis of a narrow franchise, the provincial assemblies had outlived their normal life. Their elections were overdue and Liaquat Ali Khan carried through an amendment to the Constitution providing for adult franchise in the coming elections. The elections in the Panjab and the North-West Frontier Province held in 1951 brought back the Muslim League to power. Section 92A was lifted and a popular ministry installed in the Panjab after the elections.

A deterioration had set into the affairs of the Muslim League. A resolution forbidding Ministers from holding party offices was quashed at the instance of the Prime Minister who got himself elected as chief of the organization. The purpose of this change was to put life into the League. But it did not yield expected results. The party lost touch with the people and became indistinguishable from Government. The Prime Minister emerged stronger from this integration. Decisions taken by him were readily endorsed by the party executive as well as the legislature. The Chief Ministers of provinces followed the foot-steps of the Prime Minister. They got themselves elected as heads of the provincial organizations.

Relations with India

Relations with India worsened rapidly. To the wrangles about Kashmir and canal waters was added the dispute about evacuee property. The campaign of genocide against the East Panjab Muslims launched by some non-Muslim groups and organizations on the eve of partition had its repercussions in the West Panjab whose non-Muslim population began to flee to India. Displaced persons from both sides, who had left behind considerable immovable properties, became powerful pressure groups in the countries of their adoption. Assuming that the abandoned assets in Pakistan exceeded the value of evacuee properties in India, the Government of India proposed the settlement of the evacuee property question as a whole and at the government level. The Government of Pakistan rejected this proposal as unsound and suggested sale or exchange of properties between private

parties. The Government of India would not accept private deals. Negotiations over the question were protracted and fruitless. Elaborate regulations about the disposal of evacuee properties were promulgated in both countries in the absence of an agreement between their Governments.

The business of demarcating the boundaries between India and Pakistan was held up as the Radcliffe award was indefinite in important respects. The disputed points were clarified by a Scandinavian jurist, Bagge, whose services had been obtained with the help of the United Nations, but Bagge's findings have not been wholly implemented as the Indian government has yet to transfer the Beru Bari enclave to this country.

Indian leaders and newspapers used coarse language against Pakistan and frequently demanded proofs of loyalty from the Muslim citizens of their own country. Incendiary utterances of persons in authority and violent tone of the Press often provoked breach of peace. Every riot drove hundreds of Indian Muslims to Pakistan adding to the gravity of the refugee problem in this country. Liaquat Ali Khan brought these facts to the notice of Jawaharlal Nehru. But his communications were either ignored or brought evasive and delayed replies. The Indian Prime Minister had nothing to offer except a no-war pact. Pakistan thought that such a pact was useless without a prior settlement of outstanding disputes between the two countries.

India's Prime Minister, a zealous advocate of peaceful settlement of all international disputes, was entirely unwilling to submit Indo-Pak disputes to arbitration. Anxious to put an end to this dangerous drift, Liaquat Ali Khan took the initiative by paying a visit to India in 1951. The outcome was the Minorities Pact which bound the two governments to protect their minorities and give them a greater sense of security by removing their just grievances. Further, Minority ministries were set up in both countries and the Minority ministers were expected to give undivided attention to the question. A Press code was also formulated at the same time. Its main purpose was to ensure that newspapers in one country observed due caution in commenting on the affairs of the other. The benefit of the agreement was rather limited. The code became a dead letter, as the Indian newspapers soon resumed their former attitude of hostility

towards this country.

Pakistan started with numerous economic disabilities. The disorganization caused by the mass migration of non-Muslims was most pronounced in the fields of industry, commerce and finance. The dearth of technical skill prevented this country from making use of its own raw materials. There was plenty of jute in East Pakistan, but no jute mills. West Pakistan produced large quantities of cotton, but there were very few textile mills. Industrial development was recognised as the first need of the country. A Planning Board was set up immediately after Independence. It was turned into Planning Commission in 1950. But it did not make an effective start. Meanwhile, the adoption of a liberal import policy relieved some of the most pressing shortages. This was made possible partly by the accumulated sterling balances in London and partly by the Korean boom which had sent up the prices of Pakistan's primary products.

The injustice of the landlord system in East Pakistan has been fully brought out in an earlier chapter. Landlordism, the festering sore of the province, was abolished in 1950. By the East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act the state acquired all rent-receiving interests; subletting of land was forbidden; tenants were to pay rents at fair and equitable rates; no cultivator was to be permitted to purchase or acquire land in any other manner if he held more than 100 *bighas* of land. Dispossessed owners of land were to be compensated at a graduated scale either in cash or in non-negotiable bonds.

Invited to tour the U.S.A. in 1951, Liaquat Ali Khan spent some three weeks in that country addressing the various academic bodies and organizations, including the Congress. A collection of his speeches, meant to introduce Pakistan to the West was later published under the title of *Pakistan, The Heart of Asia.*

A conspiracy to overthrow the government came to light in March 1951. The accused, who included some army officers, were brought before a judicial tribunal at Hyderabad which sentenced them to varying terms of imprisonment after a lengthy trial.

Liaquat Ali Khan was shot dead on 17 October 1951 as he began to address a mass meeting in a public park at Rawalpindi. His dead body was brought back to Karachi and was buried near

the grave of the Qa'id-i-A'zam. The mystery of his murder has never been completely solved as the culprit was himself lynched in the confusion that followed his murderous deed. Liaquat Ali Khan was a selfless patriot. Under his able and dedicated guidance the country tided over a different and critical period of its history after the Qa'id-i-A'zam's death.

Khwaja Nazimuddin as Prime Minister

Khwaja Nazimuddin gave up the office of Governor-General to occupy the premiership vacated by Liaquat Ali Khan's removal. A Prime Minister in a parliamentary system is ordinarily a majority leader in the legislature. He is commissioned to form the ministry by the Head of the State. In this instance the customary form was not observed. The Head of the State stepped into the office of Head of Government. The precedent was unusual and could very well lead to complications in the future. The decision was reportedly taken by the cabinet. But the change from the non-political office of Governor-General to the political office of Prime Minister was personally unfortunate for Nazimuddin. His career had shaped him for the role of an elder statesman, not for that of the ups and downs of politics. Nazimuddin's cabinet was practically the same as that of Liaquat Ali Khan's. The only important changes were the elevation of Finance Minister Ghulam Muhammad to the office of Governor-General and the entry of Secretary General, Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, as Finance Minister into the cabinet. Amiable and personally popular in the country, Nazimuddin began with all-round goodwill. But he was too lenient and compromising and his friends and foes alike took advantage of his good nature.

Economic difficulties appeared as soon as Nazimuddin had settled down in his new office. The Korean boom had spent itself. A reckless import policy and heavy purchases of food-stuffs from abroad had nearly wiped out the foreign exchange resources of the country. West Pakistan was in the throes of an agricultural depression caused by a combination of circumstances. The lands left by non-Muslim evacuees did not always go to genuine tillers of soil. Fragmentation of holdings had gone to an uneconomic extent. Salinity and waterlogging had brought havoc over vast cultivable areas. Richer farmers invested more in cash crops than

cereals. Land reform was the crying need of the region. But landlords, strongly entrenched in parliament, defeated all moves for agricultural improvement. Policy-makers within the Government attached greater importance to industry than agriculture.

There were disturbing reports of growing corruption in services. Audit reports revealed numerous cases of misappropriation in Government disbursements. A public servant using his position for accumulating a private fortune does not think and feel like his own people. He is no better than a foreign bureaucrat. Moreover, corruption is fatal to good government and the blessings of freedom are beyond the reach of people ruled by administrators of low moral standards.

Nazimuddin took up the task of constitution-making at the point it had been left by Liaquat Ali Khan. Surrounded by a group of the 'ulama, Nazimuddin resolutely stood for an Islamic constitution and relished theological argument as much as political discussion. He constituted a Board of 'Ulama to advise the Government on constitutional questions. But Nazimuddin's achievement as a constitution-maker was not of a high order. The second report of the Basic Principles Committee, submitted towards the end of 1952, recommended the creation of a bicameral federal legislature, the formation of the two chambers on the basis of parity between the two wings of the country and the establishment of more federal units like Khairpur and Karachi in West Pakistan. The plan was lacking in coherence as well as consistency. The authors of the report differed among themselves. The document was signed only by 16 members out of a total membership of 29, the Prime Minister describing it as the maximum achievable agreement. The only outcome of the report was the recognition of Bengali as one of the two state languages of Pakistan.

The canal water dispute took a serious turn. India broke lightly agreements she had signed after hard bargaining. It was futile to persuade that country to release additional water supplies for the purpose of fighting salinity and waterlogging when agreed quantities were not received regularly. Mr. Lillienthal of the World Bank pointed to the dangers of this situation in a magazine article published in 1951. He also hinted at the desirability of an international agreement for the distribution of the

waters of the Indus and its tributaries. The Bank summoned a series of conferences in Washington. India consistently refused to honour Pakistan's riparian rights at the conference table.

Government and the Ahrar

The anti-Qadiani agitation launched by the Ahrars of the Panjab exposed Nazimuddin's weakness as Prime Minister. Organized by the Muslim dissidents of the Indian National Congress, the Majlis-i-Ahrar sprang into prominence in 1931 by extending all-out help to the Kashmir fighters for freedom. But its popularity was short-lived. The Ahrar leaders did not identify themselves with the popular Muslim demand for the restoration of the Shahid Ganj Mosque of Lahore and held aloof from the battle of Pakistan. They receded into the background after Independence and appeared to have retired from politics. Suddenly they re-entered public life with their old demand for having the Qadianis declared non-Muslims. They had prolonged talks with Nazimuddin and made some impression on him. Without waiting for the result, they started a vigorous agitation for the removal of Zafarullah Khan, a recognized leader of the Qadiani community, from the Central cabinet. The agitation grew in violence and threatened to destroy ordered life. The situation was saved with the help of the Army and the city of Lahore was placed under Martial Law. The Government of the Panjab was suspected of conniving at the activities of the Ahrars. The suspicion was confirmed in the course of a judicial investigation which revealed that Government funds meant for the promotion of adult literacy had been diverted to finance a press campaign against the Qadiani sect. The Chief Minister of the Panjab, who still commanded a majority in the provincial legislature, was replaced by Feroze Khan Noon, Governor of East Pakistan.

A reference to the affairs of the Muslim League is essential for an understanding of what followed. The Prime Minister had no place in this organization when he took office. The League constitution had to be amended to secure his election as leader. The League chief created the League Council on the basis of parity between East and West Pakistan. But he failed to nominate the League executive during his tenure as Prime Minister. The League was now hollow from within and could not be kept

alive by artificial remedies. The fact that it could not hold a popular session for a period of five long years showed that it was more dead than alive. Popular government is not a workable proposition in the absence of organized political parties led by dedicated leaders. The responsibility of a single party dominating the political scene is all the greater in this respect.

Dismissal of Khwaja Nazimuddin

Nazimuddin's entry in the office of Prime Minister was unusual. His exit was dramatic. His piety, integrity and patriotism were unquestionable. But he failed to give leadership to the country. Some of his policies were dictated by circumstances. The restriction of imports was attended with shortages. The scarcity of food-stuffs led to the evils of hoarding and black-marketing. Some senior civil servants were reported to have turned politicians. Corruption was on the increase. The Qadiani riots had discredited the Government.

For about 15 months Ghulam Mohammad was a silent spectator of the political drama. The relations between him and his Prime Minister were apparently cordial. He supported the Government and complimented his Ministers. But his attitude changed suddenly. On 19 April 1953 he summoned the Prime Minister and asked for his resignation. Nazimuddin refused on the ground that it was not proper for the Governor-General to demand resignation of a Prime Minister duly supported by a legislative majority. The Governor-General took his stand on strict legal theory. He argued that the institution of cabinet and office of Prime Minister were unknown to the Constitution and insisted that the Adapted Act empowered him to choose and summon the council of Ministers. Nazimuddin's refusal was promptly followed by the gubernatorial announcement of Prime Minister's dismissal. The proceeding was not a breach of law but it was an obvious violation of a well-established parliamentary convention.

(*For reading list see end of Chapter XIX.*)

CHAPTER XVIII

Deepening Crisis

Muhammad Ali Bogra

Muhammad Ali Bogra was the next Prime Minister. His was a surprise appointment. The new Prime Minister had served as Finance Minister in the government of undivided Bengal and filled ambassadorial appointments in Rangoon, Ottawa and Washington. He was by no means a national figure. He was stated to have arrived in Karachi for routine consultations when he was called upon to head the Government. His prolonged absence from the country and his independence of group loyalties was a decided advantage at the beginning. The new cabinet was practically chosen by the Governor-General. Abdul Qayyum Khan gave up the office of Chief Minister in the North-West Frontier Province to join as Food Minister in the Central Government.

Shortage of food was the most pressing problem before the Government. Some parts of the country were famine-striken. Arrangements for the import of cereals from the U.S.A. had been virtually completed before Nazimuddin was thrown out of office. The arrival of a consignment of 75,000 tons of wheat in the

summer of 1953 afforded a great relief to the harassed Government. But prices continued to rise. Corruption was spreading. Goods worth about 30 crores of rupees were reported to have been smuggled out of the country in 1953-54. The situation called for drastic remedies. But the Government watched helplessly.

Difficulties with India

The canal water dispute ran its course. The World Bank formulated its own proposals and placed them before the parties in 1953. Conceding the Indian claim to the ownership of the three eastern rivers (Sutlej, Beas and Ravi) the Bank proposed that the resulting loss of water to Pakistan should be made up by the construction of a system of link canals to carry the waters of western rivers to the areas irrigated by the eastern rivers proposed to be recognised as exclusively Indian. The plan was an obvious concession to intransigence and went a long way in meeting the Indian point of view. Pakistan had no reason to feel enthusiastic about it. However, the Pakistan authorities referred the matter to a hydrographic expert who advised against the Bank proposal.

The Kashmir problem took a turn for the worse. It was India's Deputy Prime Minister who publicly reasoned that the accession issue had been already decided in India's favour by the "popularly elected constituent assembly of Kashmir and roundly declared that his Government was not bound to hold a plebiscite or abide by its result. India's repudiation of the Security Council's resolutions demanding the disposal of the State of Jammu and Kashmir according to the wishes of its people was followed by a mass upsurge in the state. The constituent assembly of Kashmir was hardly a free agent. It had been elected under the shadow of Indian bayonets. Growing restive under New Delhi's tutelage, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah was shocked at the breach of faith on the part of Indian rulers and refused to treat the Dogra accession as a settled fact. Upon this the Kashmiri leader was summarily ejected from the office and lodged in prison (August 1953). His followers burst into fury. The Indian government retaliated by mass arrests, shootings and torture. The valley became a vast prison-house for the Muslims.

Nazimuddin's dismissal again held up the progress of constitution-making. The second report of the Basic Principles Com-

mittee was a still-born document. Bogra started on the journey afresh. His task was delicate as well as difficult. His own party did not always stand by him. Political friends of the late Prime Minister withheld co-operation. They even created obstacles by giving excessive attention to details. The constitution-makers did not face the fundamentals and the interests of the masses meant nothing to them. Division of powers between the Centre and the provinces was the most crucial problem in their eyes.

The Governor-General was now a controversial figure. He was a power within the Government and his word carried greater weight than that of the Prime Minister. The immensity of the Governor-General's influence was resented by a group of legislators who prepared a bill scoring out the clauses of the Constitution on which the Governor-General had based his claim to control the appointment and tenure of the Ministers. The bill was circulated with speed and secrecy. It was then placed before the Assembly on a day fixed for legislative business. The rule forbidding discussion of bills presented without due notice was waived. The measure was passed within 10 minutes, and the Governor-General was taken by surprise. The new law totally relieved the Head of the State of his prerogatives and made him entirely dependent on the ministry. Ghulam Muhammad, however, reacted immediately. He absolved some convicted politicians from the PRODA penalties in an attempt to confound his opponents in this undisguised struggle for power.

Foreign Affairs

Muhammad Ali's experience as a diplomat ensured greater attention to foreign affairs. Broad outlines of Pakistan's Foreign policy had already emerged. Situated in the heart of the Muslim world, stretching from Indonesia to Morocco, the Muslim community of undivided India had been taking a keen interest in the fortunes of its co-religionists living beyond the confines of this subcontinent. The Muslim journals gave a good deal of space to the news and problems of Muslim countries which elicited great interest in all educated, and even uneducated, homes. Inheriting this tradition Pakistan became a valiant and uncompromising champion of the Arab and Muslim causes in the United Nations. The assumption of this role by Pakistan does not fit in with the

aims of Indian diplomacy which has done its best to isolate this country from all groupings of Muslim states. Within the country the Indian masses are taught to look upon Pakistan as a 'restless aggressor'. Bogra's desire to end this state of tension took him to New Delhi on a mission of conciliation which produced no tangible results except an extravagant exchange of civilities. India's intransigence ultimately drove Pakistan into the American global strategy against Communism. The treaty for military and economic aid with America was signed at the beginning of 1954. The arrival of defence equipment from the United States enabled this country to reorganize its Army as an efficient striking force. Bogra also participated in a representative gathering of Asian diplomats at Bandung in 1954 where the Indian Prime Minister theorised at length about his formulae on the possibilities of co-existence.

Elections in East Pakistan

The long delayed elections in East Pakistan were held early in 1954. A combination of opposition parties, the United Front as it was called, with a 21 point programme, inflicted a crushing defeat on the ruling party. The Premier of the province was unseated in a straight contest against a college student. This combination was held together by the personality of its leader, A.K. Fazlul Haq, who had few equals in the art of mass appeal. Founded in 1924, Fazlul Haq's Krishak Sramik Party (K.S.P.) had functioned under different names in the province of united Bengal till the early 40s and was re-formed in 1953.

The other leader of the United Front was Hussain Shahid Suhrawardy. Belonging to a family noted for its devotion to public service and learning, Suhrawardy started his political career in the Khilafat days. He rose to be the chief of the Muslim League in Bengal and became the Chief Minister of the province in 1946. He elected to stay in India after partition and helped Gandhi's campaign against communal violence in Calcutta. Later he came over to Pakistan and set up his legal practice. Returning to politics he established contacts with the malcontents of the League.

Dissidents had created the Jinnah League in the Panjab and North-West Frontier Province and the Awami League in East

Pakistan. The two merged under Suhrawardy's leadership to form the Awami League which became a strong factor in the politics of the eastern province. It demanded regional autonomy, advocated the adoption of Bengali as a state language and pressed for the establishment of a unicameral legislature. It maintained an efficient publicity service controlled by a secretariat financed by voluntary subscriptions. The Awami League was particularly interested in foreign affairs and strongly criticized the foreign policies pursued by the former governments.

The triumph of the United Front was short-lived. The Awami League soon withdrew. Some of Fazlul Haq's utterances led the Central Government to impose Governor's rule on the province. But the United Front victory in East Pakistan had a disturbing effect on the politics of the Centre. Bogra's official position depended upon the support of the Muslim League Parliamentary party whose members were almost equally drawn from the two provinces. The East Pakistani members continued to sit in the Assembly and support the ministry. But they had been disowned by the electorate and had lost their representative character with the result that Bogra's position was now difficult.

Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly

The working of the Constituent Assembly was far from satisfactory. It had grown unrepresentative and a good deal of the time of its members was spent in factional activities. As it was a small body, the legislative business did not occupy much of its time. There was public criticism of the Assembly, specially in East Pakistan. It had, moreover, offended the Governor-General by striking at his discretionary powers. The Governor-General dissolved the Assembly on 24 October 1954 and issued a proclamation of emergency. He is even reported to have tried to persuade the Army to take over the Government, but Army authorities set their face against the suggestion. Consequently, a strong cabinet was sworn in under Bogra to speed up the task of constitution-making and arrange for the merger of the various provinces and states of West Pakistan into a single administrative unit known as the Province of West Pakistan. It is significant that the Assembly was dissolved when it had all but finished the task of constitution-making and the final drafting only had been left.

The dissolution delayed constitution-making and the election of a more representative legislative.

The Governor-General's action in dissolving the Constituent Assembly had no provision in law and was not allowed to pass unchallenged. Maulavi Tamizuddin Khan, the Speaker of the dissolved house, filed a law-suit to test the validity of dissolution. The Federal Court gave a patient hearing to the case. The judges observed that the Governor-General had exercised an extraordinary power in unusual circumstances. But they gave reasons of doubtful legal validity to uphold the Governor-General's action. The Court refused to endorse the Governor-General's plan of setting up a body of experts to frame the constitution and ruled that the new constitution-making body was to be composed exactly in the same manner as the old one, that is to say, its members were to be elected by the provincial Assemblies.

Unification of West Pakistan

The new cabinet also planned for the unification of West Pakistan. This followed from the accepted principle of parity between the two wings of the country. But it was supported on other grounds as well. Served by the same river system, the province was a single economic unit with a predominantly agricultural economy. The problems of planning can be tackled easily if the area has a single instead of half a dozen governments. Moreover, a single ministry and a single legislature would mean a sizable saving in expenditure. It would also act as an antidote to the forces of parochialism by bringing together the representatives of different regions in a common effort for development. The case for consolidation was also strengthened by historical considerations. The area of Sind was added to British territories in 1843 and that of the Panjab six years later. It is reasonable to suppose that if these two annexations had followed the reverse order, Sind should have been joined to the neighbouring Panjab, not to the distant Bombay. The trans-Indus districts of Peshawar, Hazara, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, Kohat and Mardan formed part of the Punjab. These were joined together in 1901 and constituted into the North-West Frontier Province. This province, a Curzon creation, suffered grievously on account of its separation from the Panjab. Directly administered by the Central

Government under a harsh penal code, it soon became a political backwater and was cheated of its share in political advancement. The British government branded it with political inferiority by deciding not to extend the Reforms of 1909 (and later those of 1919) to the province. Had Sind been conquered after (and not before) the Panjab, and had the north-western districts remained with the Panjab, West Pakistan would have been a single administrative unit even under the British.

The various provincial Assemblies were approached for their views on the project of integration. All of them voted assent. Hussain Shahid Suhrawardy, who had joined the cabinet in December 1954, drafted the One Unit Bill. Later he was to turn against it. The same was true of the provincial premiers who had formerly lent their eloquent support to the plan. Opposition to this measure came from Khwaja Nazimuddin's political friends in the Constituent Assembly as also from the non-Muslim members of that body. Some of them seemed to believe that the integration of West Pakistan was an unfriendly act towards the eastern province. It may also be recalled that while the Governor-General had wanted to set up the province by an executive order, the Federal Court advised against this step.

Change of Ministry

Bogra's position was weakened after the election of the new Constituent Assembly. Disowned by his own province, he was compelled to resign and go back to Washington as Pakistan's ambassador once again. Before his departure, however, he had brought about an alliance between the United Front and the Muslim League. This prepared the way for the United Front—League Coalition whose leader Chaudhri Mohammad Ali had been elected chief of the League Parliamentary party in the new Assembly. This was a refreshing precedent. Mohammad Ali's predecessors, Bogra and Nazimuddin, had been elected party leaders *after* and not *before* coming to office.

Starting as a college lecturer, the new Prime Minister had joined the old Audit and Accounts Service in 1928. Very different from a typical politician, he was a seasoned civil servant and a man of wide learning. The combination that he headed had no common purpose. He was not an accomplished speaker and his

public appearance was dictated by necessity. What is fun for a normal politician was a painful duty for him. The integration of West Pakistan was carried out on 15 October 1955. An interim legislature for the province was elected in which the Panjab was somewhat under-represented. The spokesmen of this province had agreed to the reduction of their due representation in the Assembly and had also waived their claim to the premiership of West Pakistan in the coming decade. Dr. Khan Sahib, a veteran Congressite of prepartition days, who was holding the office of Communications Minister in the Central Government, became the first Chief Minister of West Pakistan.

Constitution of 1956

The Prime Minister took up the task of constitution-making in right earnest. The second Constituent Assembly was divided into some half a dozen groups and was composed of professional politicians. Mohammad Ali kept it in session continuously for six months and made full use of this period. He did not allow the internal differences of the ruling party to hold up the progress of constitution-making. The more difficult problems were left over to be taken up at the end. The process ended in the Constitution of 1956.

This Constitution was republican and parliamentary. It broadly followed the pattern of the principles agreed upon under Bogra. The country was declared an Islamic Republic. Its President was to be a Muslim elected by an electoral college composed of the entire membership of the federal and the two provincial legislatures. The provinces were given wider powers. The list of provincial subjects which formerly carried 94 items came to include 54. The Constitution embodied a comprehensive Bill of Rights and a statement on the Directive Principles of State Policy. The control of Railways was to be turned over to the provinces. The question of separate versus joint electorates was left over to be decided by the two provincial Assemblies. The Constitution, which incorporated some ineffective Islamic provisions, was enforced on 23 March 1956 (the sixteenth anniversary of the Lahore Resolution), which has found place as Republic Day in our Calendar. Governor-General Iskandar Mirza, who had succeeded Ghulam Mohammad in 1955, became the first President of the

Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

The President and the Prime Minister

This Sandhurst trained army officer had joined the Political Service of the Government of undivided India. His career in the North-West Frontier Province initiated him into the rough and ready methods of the old frontier diplomacy. He had served as Defence Secretary, Governor of East Pakistan, and Home Minister in the Central Government before stepping into the Presidency. He made no secret of his antipathy even to the ineffective Islamic provisions of the Constitution, publicly opposed the demand for regional autonomy as well as the transfer of Railways to the provinces, proclaimed his preference for a presidential form of government, frequently hinted at the desirability of amending the Constitution and was otherwise disinclined to follow constitutional procedures and methods.

The Prime Minister was no politician. He might have given leadership to the services and to the National Assembly. In practice he depended heavily on both. His influence declined sharply after the Constitution had been enforced. He was unable to fulfil the expectations of his own party and fell out with his followers on important issues. The first subject of dispute was the chief ministership of the newly-created province of West Pakistan. The West Pakistan Muslim League Parliamentary party claimed a majority in the provincial legislature and, therefore, the premiership of the province. Dr. Khan Sahib, who was willing to be kept in office by the League vote, was not willing to join the party. Mohammad Ali sided with Dr. Khan Sahib and publicly administered a rebuke to his own party. This lapse was not forgiven. The Muslim League legislators met in a hastily summoned party meeting at Lahore and elected Sardar Bahadur Khan as their leader. This was an ill-concealed vote of no-confidence against the Prime Minister.

Assured of the Prime Minister's support, Dr. Khan Sahib proceeded to form a new party (called the Republican Party) of his own which emerged as a wayward factor in politics. Many former Leaguers, both in the province and at the Centre, deserted and joined the new party. Repudiated by the bulk of his own following, Mohammad Ali came to depend on the parliamentary

support of a combination of Republicans and the remnants of the United Front. The only beneficiary of this political confusion was the President who commanded the Republicans and could create a crisis at will.

The canal water dispute entered a new phase by the World Bank's own admission that the construction of the proposed link canals would still be insufficient for the irrigational requirements of the former Panjab. The Bank's suggestion that the cost of building the storage works and digging the link canals should be borne by India was not well received in that country. On its own part, Pakistan was coming to realize the engineering difficulties inherent in this gigantic plan.

Mohammad Ali was a fervent supporter of parliamentary institutions and looked upon the opposition as part of government. He raised the status of its leader by making him a paid office holder of the state with a rent-free residence. No parliamentary system can work without a responsible opposition. This is freely recognised in Britain where the opposition is called Her Majesty's opposition. First used in jest, this phrase added a colourful expression to the English vocabulary of politics.

Regional Alliances

The role of foreign alliances for the promotion of national interests was not sufficiently reflected in Pakistan's international commitments. The Baghdad Pact and the South East Asia Treaty Organization [SEATO] were primarily meant to check the progress of international Communism. Pakistan had assumed responsibilities of their membership without hard political calculation. Events have shown that non-Communist aggression is more serious for this country than the threat of Communist intervention. Pakistan insisted that Pakistan's allies take a realistic view of this situation. It wanted that the regional defence alliances should undertake to resist all types of aggression regardless of their origin. This was not exactly to the liking of the senior partners in the Baghdad Pact and the SEATO who underestimated the mischief of India's continued defiance of Security Council's resolutions on Kashmir. The only outcome of the Pakistan's efforts was a SEATO declaration recognizing the Durand Line as the international frontier between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

The country had made considerable industrial progress by 1956. But agriculture had languished for want of attention. The fact of big industrialists rolling in luxury provided a curious contrast to the suffering of the masses. Food deficits recurred and there was a crisis in the balance of payments. The Prime Minister devalued the Pakistani rupee to the same extent as the Indian rupee had been devalued in 1949.

End of Muslim League rule

Mohammad Ali had offended the League leadership of West Pakistan by supporting Dr. Khan Sahib in the office of Chief Minister. His predecessors, Bogra, Nazimuddin and Liaquat Ali Khan, had strengthened the office of Prime Minister by getting themselves elected as party chiefs. Mohammad Ali allowed the two offices to be separated. This was a tactical mistake. The new League president, Abdur Rab Nishtar, placed himself at the head of the Prime Minister's opponents in the League who had been annoyed because of Mohammad Ali's support of the Republicans and began to treat the Parliamentary party as a subordinate branch of the organization. The breaking point was reached when he demanded dismissal of the Governor of West Pakistan. Exasperated by growing unpopularity and unruly mass demonstrations in Karachi, Mohammad Ali threw up his office though he still commanded a majority and could have secured a vote of confidence from the National Assembly.

Suhrawardy as Prime Minister

Iskandar Mirza's choice next fell on Hussain Shahid Suhrawardy, a clever lawyer and an adroit parliamentarian, who had considerable popular following in the country. Joining the Central cabinet in December 1954, he had shaped the One Unit Bill. The Muslim League party promised him the office of Prime Minister some time at the beginning of 1955. But Iskandar Mirza, who did not like Suhrawardy's partnership in office, preferred to call upon Chaudhari Mohammad Ali to succeed Bogra. This drove Suhrawardy into opposition once again. It is not without significance that he accepted office under the very Constitution he had refused to sign. But his position was far from easy. The number of his reliable supporters in the National Assembly was

small for the Awami League commanded 12 votes in a House of 80. His parliamentary strength was, therefore, built mostly upon the support of the Republicans. But he was able, in the first instance, to convert this disability into an advantage and made a good start. He made extensive changes in the personnel of the administration and filled the key positions with 'dependable' men. He recalled Sir Thomas Ellis to complete an inquiry into multiple and irregular allotments that had been dropped earlier. He clearly realized the expediency of placating Karachi and gave up Mohammad Ali's project of removing the capital to Gadup. Rehabilitation became the Prime Minister's own portfolio and he freely sought the advice of refugee organizations in the work of resettlement. Public expenditure had grown abnormally. A million tons of foodgrains had to be imported from abroad. An economy committee was appointed to suggest ways and means of retrenchment.

The question of joint versus separate electorates was unsettled. Mohammad Ali was personally inclined to adopt the device of separate electoral representation. But this coalition was divided on the issue. The Constitution of 1956 had shifted the responsibility for a decision to the provincial Assemblies that recorded conflicting votes on the issue. Suhrawardy had strong views on the subject and threw the entire weight of his authority against separate electorates. The Republicans, who did not wish to part company with the Prime Minister at this juncture, followed his lead quietly and the principle of joint electorates was incorporated into the Constitution.

The country was committed to the "Western block" and the Prime Minister put up an able defence of Pakistan's membership of military alliances. Thus, he supported the British position in the Suez crisis and offered to mediate between the Arabs and the Jews. His caustic comments on the helplessness of the Muslim countries were widely resented, but more far-seeing was his attitude towards China. He went on an official tour to that country and the Chinese Prime Minister paid a return visit. The contact brought home to the parties, not for the first time, of the existence of common ground between them.

Suhrawardy made a lavish use of patronage, and obtained political support by a skilful distribution of the ministerial portfolios. But in doing so he showed little regard for the dignity

of his office. The fact that the names of some inexperienced Awami Ministers were freely associated with unsavoury transactions did not enhance the credit of the Prime Minister.

Suhrawardy's bold politics soon landed him into trouble. He was supported in office by the Republicans, but he looked to the Muslim League for support to his long-term plans. The Republicans decided to give him a shock treatment and compelled him to remove the Governor of West Pakistan from office much against his own wishes. Suhrawardy retaliated and carried the crusade into the Republican citadel. In a whirlwind tour of the former Panjab, he condemned the Republicans in violent language and called them traitors for voting dismemberment of the province of West Pakistan in the provincial Legislative Assembly. The Republicans were not slow to react and the breaking point was soon reached. Summoned by the President, the Prime Minister was told to vacate office. Suhrawardy declined insisting, like Khwaja Nazimuddin, that his legislative majority was still intact. The plea was ignored and the Prime Minister was turned out of office without the formality of a resignation. The action of the President in refusing the Prime Minister's request to be allowed to face the National Assembly for a vote of confidence was blatantly unconstitutional.

With Suhrawardy's exit the control of the situation passed on to the President who had utterly confounded the politicians and now found himself free to make and unmake ministries with the help of his Republican friends. Indeed, he directed their political strategy and represented them in their dealings with other parties and groups. Suhrawardy's successor, Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar, was a nominee of the President. A lawyer by profession, he had gained early experience of office as one of the League representatives in the Interim Government of 1946-47. Later, he was Pakistan's ambassador at Kabul and still later the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province and the Panjab. He had also argued Maulavi Tamizuddin Ahmad's case against the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly before the Federal Court. But his position was insecure from the very start. He presided over a loose coalition comprising the Republicans, the Muslim League, the Krishak Sramik and the Nizam-e-Islam parties. Loss of office and power had taught some lessons to the Leaguers who began to

give solid support to the union of West Pakistan and persuaded the Republicans to be less vocal on the issue. The restoration of separate electorates was stated to be the main object of the new Prime Minister. The Leaguers and the Republicans were uneasy bed-fellows. Their alliance was shaky as their respective parties operated in West Pakistan where the success of one meant the defeat of the other. The President was also interested in keeping them apart. A patch-up between the two would be personally disastrous for him. So, he took the first opportunity of dissolving the coalition. Chundrigar had intended to fight inflation, root out corruption and carry out the long-awaited land reforms in West Pakistan, but his authority was small and tenure brief. He had to quit office after an interlude of six weeks.

Republicans in power

The Republicans had supported three Prime Ministers (Chaudhri Mohammad Ali, Suhrawardy and Chundrigar) in office one after another. Now they claimed the premiership in their own right. But the sordid game of politics had by now deprived the office of Prime Minister of much of its popular esteem and political prestige. Its new incumbent, Feroze Khan Noon, who belonged to the landed aristocracy of the Panjab, was an administrator of long experience. He had, among other things, filled the governorship of East Pakistan and the chief ministership of the Panjab. Like Suhrawardy he was supported by a combination of the Awamis and the Republicans. But the Awamis kept out of the Government, in the first instance, for strategic reasons and used their influence to keep their own party in power in the province of East Pakistan. This placed the Republicans under the dual control of the President and the Awamis. The Awamis had the Governor's rule imposed on East Pakistan for three days when their ministry was threatened with a vote of no-confidence. Similarly, they secured the dismissal of East Pakistan Governor, A. K. Fazlul Haq, when he refused to toe their line. But the most unenviable Awami performance was the suspension of the close-door (*i.e.*, anti-smuggling) operation. The growth of unlawful trade between East Pakistan and the Indian province of West Bengal represented a serious drain on the resources of this country. Gangs of smugglers operated freely.

The Army was called in to help. It did a good job by preventing commodities worth a crore of rupees from passing into India. The operation was stopped abruptly. This was the price that the Awami League had to pay for the continued support of a non-Muslim group in the Legislative Assembly. The ministry was also compelled to order the release of a group of spies for passing on information about the movement of Pakistani forces in East Pakistan to the agents of a foreign country. Within the Legislative Assembly feelings ran high and members of various groups did not hesitate to come to blows with each other on the floor of the house. The Deputy Speaker who occupied the chair on 23 September 1958 was assaulted and he succumbed to his injuries. The fatality was ominous. Ordered government had apparently ceased to exist.

Noon had largely acquired his administrative experience under British rule. But his greatest limitation arose from the fact of his being a landlord. While he was all praise for the land reforms of East Pakistan, he blessed the landlordism of West Pakistan as a beneficent institution giving a tone and poise to society. He openly stated that land reform would be disastrous for production and disrupt the traditional fabric of society. Land reform, he further stated, was essentially a problem created by city-dwellers who knew nothing of rural conditions.

The refugees from Kashmir, who were disturbed about the fate of their homeland, organized the Kashmir Liberation Front and decided to cross the cease fire line, and carry the war of liberation into the Indian-occupied Kashmir. The Noon Government forbade the Front from proceeding with its plans. The enclave known as Beru Bari Union which was to be returned to Pakistan under the terms of the Bagge award still remained with India. Noon went over to New Delhi to negotiate a settlement. India agreed to the transfer and signed a treaty to that effect. The Indian Union has yet (1967) to carry out its treaty obligation.

Noon's year of premiership was a period of intrigues and uncertainties. The general elections, scheduled for November 1958, were postponed to March 1959. Political activity was ceaseless. Blinded with lust for power, groups and individuals made agreements at convenience and repudiated them at pleasure. The Chief Minister of West Pakistan was assassinated by a half-witted

youth and interested parties turned it into a political issue. The Awami League felt that it had committed a tactical error by keeping out of the Government. Its demand for admission into the Government had to be conceded and the result was an unwieldy cabinet. The Muslim League arranged a series of demonstrations to show its popularity with the masses. Inflation was uncontrolled. The country's reserves of foreign exchange touched the bottom. It was in the midst of this confusion that the Army appeared on the scene.

(*For reading list see end of Chapter XIX.*)

CHAPTER XIX

Revolutionary Regime

An Era of Reforms

On the night of 7 October 1958, the Constitution was suspended by a Presidential proclamation. The ministries were dismissed, the legislatures dissolved and political parties banned. The Commander-in-Chief of the Army, General Muhammad Ayub Khan, was appointed Chief Martial Law Administrator. The proclamation dwelt at length on the chaotic state of the country, lack of scruples on the part of parliamentary leaders, widespread corruption, irresponsible conduct of services and disorderly finances. Another announcement stated that the object of this 'take-over' was to 'clear the mess' and prepare the country for a more practicable form of government. Three weeks' experience of the new government showed, however, that Iskandar Mirza was still playing politics and trying to use the same weapons against his new colleagues that he had so successfully used against the politicians. He was made to vacate office on 27 October 1958 and the Chief Martial Law Administrator, Muhammad Ayub Khan, became the President of the country. The Constitution

Commission, appointed in 1960, recorded its considered opinion that the breakdown of the Constitution of 1956 was caused by the absence of organized political parties in the country and the want of probity among the politicians as a class.

The new cabinet consisted of civilians as well as generals. The office of Prime Minister was abolished and Ayub Khan's cabinet began to function as a presidential cabinet. In the courts set up by the new Government, military officers sat alongside of judges and magistrates to try anti-social offences. (Military judges were withdrawn after about three weeks). A rigorous system of price control was enforced. Hoarded stocks were brought out. Arrears of Government revenues and taxes flowed speedily into the treasury. National life was revitalised within a few days.

A general screening of all Government servants was ordered. This was necessary because the morale of public services had been destroyed by indiscriminate recruitment and rapid promotions. The administration was blamed for many sins of omission and commission, but inefficiency and corruption were the main charges. Service records of all state employees were examined carefully with the result that the names of 133 officers of class I, 221 officers of class II and 1,303 officials of class III were removed from the public payroll. None of the foregoing governments could have taken such an unprecedented step to tone up the administrative bureaucracy.

Change of Capital

Chaudhri Mohammad Ali had selected Gadup as the home of the new federal capital. But the proposal was shelved by his successor and the question remained an unsettled item on the Government agenda. The Revolutionary Government acted with speed and selected a sub-mountainous site to the north of Rawalpindi (to be known as Islamabad) as the future capital. Rawalpindi became the interim seat of Government. By the end of 1964 the construction of the capital had reached an advanced stage and numerous Government departments had occupied their new offices.

Land Reform

Land reform, which was the burning question of West Pakistan,

was essentially a legacy of British rule and its glaring iniquities were recognised even before partition. The landed aristocracy had served as a bulwark of foreign domination. The various Muslim League governments in the past had made spirited declarations on the subject, but they were unable to achieve anything because they could not afford to annoy their supporters who largely represented the upper strata of rural society. The problem could not be solved by piecemeal legislation: the landlords had sufficient authority to evade the small concessions allowed to the Haris in Sind and their counterparts in the Panjab. They paid no attention to the development of their estates and failed to make full use of their acreage. This was one of the reasons for chronic food deficit in the province. The landlords retired into the cities and squandered their substance on frivolous pursuits. Some of them indulged in hoarding and smuggling and promoted governmental instability by frequent change of political loyalties. By appointing a Land Reform Commission within two weeks of assuming power, the Ayub Government showed that it meant business. The scope of its inquiry was not rigidly defined and the Commission was free to make whatever recommendations it thought fit. A scheme of land reform, largely based on the findings of the Commission, was announced and implemented early in 1959: no land-owner could retain more than 500 acres of irrigated or 1,000 acres of non-irrigated land. The surplus was taken over by the state and distributed among the peasants and other legitimate claimants. (There were 6,016 landlords in the province who owned between themselves 91,59,474 acres. Out of this total area 22,25,563 acres were taken over by the Government and distributed among 1,50,000 landless tenants). Nearly half a million of the agricultural population in the province benefited from this reform. Landlords were to be compensated for lands taken away from them. Hereditary tenants were declared owners of the lands they had cultivated. No tenant could be ejected without legal proceedings. Unlawful cesses and exactions were abolished forthwith. Jagirs were resumed without compensation. Uneconomic fragmentation of holdings was forbidden by law and all small holdings were to be consolidated. A long and complicated operation, this is being accomplished with remarkable speed. This land reform does not meet the expectations of some impatient

radicals, but it has dealt a blow to the out-dated structure of agriculture and prepared the ground for more extensive changes.

Basic Democracies

The Basic Democracies order was issued a year later. The idea underlying the scheme is to remove the sense of helplessness prevailing in the countryside and to secure the participation of villagers in the projects initiated for their benefit. It was a small minority that benefited from Western education under the British. This class of elite formed parties, wrote manifestoes and fought elections. Franchise was restricted. Created in the last quarter of the 19th century, the institutions of local self-government never served their real purpose. Their powers were small and their finances were severely limited. The Government was distant from the people and it treated the local bodies as rivals. A healthy relationship between the two could not be established till the end of British rule. There was a wide gap between the municipalities and the district boards functioning in the towns and the cities and the "reformed" legislatures at the top.

The Basic Democracies order created a four-tier structure of representative bodies for administrative and consultative purposes. Each higher tier was recruited from the tier immediately below and the lowest tier, the Union Council, was directly elected by the people. Each Union Council member was to represent 1,000 citizens. Small constituencies were meant to ensure that the persons elected were genuinely known to the voters.

The first elections to the Basic Democracies were held in the following winter. Elected by popular vote, 40,000 Basic Democrats in each province were given intensive training before entering upon their duties. They were later turned into an electoral college for the election of the President and the provincial and central legislatures. The main function of the Basic Democracies, however, is to improve civic amenities and advise the district officials on the problems of law and order in their respective areas. Intended to bring the masses in close contact with Government officials through their representatives, they enjoy some judicial powers and can also raise certain taxes.

Educational Reform

An Education Commission appointed to assess the educational

requirements of the country reported in August 1959. The broad purposes of education as envisaged by the Commission are: to help the growth of enlightened citizenship, to infuse education with the ideals of service, to safeguard the ideals that brought Pakistan into being and to ensure a steady supply of scientific and technical personnel to meet the demands of our expanding economy. The Commission proposed extensive changes in the educational structure at all levels and laid great stress on vocational and technical training. Every school-child was to learn elements of a craft or trade. Manual work was made compulsory for all students at the secondary stage. The changes proposed to be introduced in the sphere of higher education were more thoroughgoing. A three-year degree course (since held in abeyance) was substituted for the traditional two-year course. Research received greater emphasis. Intensive methods of teaching and learning were prescribed in place of mechanical and formal practices of the past. New syllabi were framed and new text-books were prepared. The study of cultural subjects was made compulsory for all science students and that of selected scientific subjects for all students studying liberal arts. These changes can only be carried out over a number of years and would naturally involve enormous expenditure on buildings, equipment and increased personnel.

EBDO

All political parties were banned under the proclamation of 7 October 1958. Their assets were frozen and offices sealed. Deprived of their respective platforms, the professional politicians went into retirement. To eliminate their influence and to prevent their immediate re-entry into the political field, many of the former holders of ministerial and other political offices were put on trial under the Elective Bodies Disqualification Ordinance (EBDO) in specially constituted tribunals. Those found guilty of improper exercise of authority in the course of their tenure as Ministers were debarred from holding elective or political offices for a period of six years.

Judicial Reform

The costly and dilatory administration of justice in Pakistan is again a British legacy. The recommendations of a Commission

Residuary powers belong to the provinces and the authority of the Central Government has been carefully defined and limited. The control of Railways has been transferred to the provinces which are to receive larger subsidies from the Central exchequer than they did before. In case a provincial law conflicts with a Central law, the latter is to prevail.

An Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology has been set up under the Constitution. This body is not charged with legislative functions and its advice is not binding on the executive.

Foreign Relations

Pakistan became a member of the United Nations soon after Independence. Its earliest leaders had all acquired their academic education and political experience almost entirely under British influences. Moreover, the country had to depend heavily on British talent in the fields of administration and defence. That is why the coming of Independence did not mean a total breach with Britain. Two of our early provincial Governors, the Chiefs of the Land and Naval forces, among many others, were British nationals. Pakistan chose to retain the membership of the Commonwealth even after it had adopted a republican constitution in 1956.

The Pakistani is intensely devoted to his faith and expects his Government to pursue friendly policies towards other Muslim countries. This attitude was largely responsible for the creation of Pakistan itself. In the past the Muslim community of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent had a truly international outlook and was proud of its spiritual ties with the world of Islam. The Muslim intelligentzia closely followed the social and political drifts of the Muslim communities abroad and formed its own judgment about their sufferings and grievances. Much of the political awakening that came over the Muslims can be directly related to the political storms that swept the Muslim countries like Iran and Turkey at the opening of this century. The Muslims were as much, or perhaps more, interested in subjects like the Italian invasion of Tripoli, the Balkan Wars, the Balfour Declaration about a Jewish homeland in Palestine, the struggle of the Egyptian nationalists against British Imperialism and the 1929 dynastic revolution in Afghanistan than in purely local and

domestic events. As an independent state, Pakistan is the leading advocate of solidarity and unity between the different parts of the Muslim world. Hussain Shahid Suhrawardy incurred the displeasure of his own followers when he made some indiscreet remarks about the strength and stability of the Muslim world. The first National Assembly elected after the withdrawal of military rule successfully insisted that the country be renamed as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan as had been done in the Constitution of 1956.

America's entry into the field of international relations after World War II changed the pattern of world politics. The spectacular extension of American influence was helped by "aids" in various forms. Still Pakistan thought it prudent to keep clear of big power politics, recognised the government of the mainland of China in 1951 and refused to brand it aggressor in Korea. But this phase of Pakistan's foreign policy soon came to an end. The country was drawn into the orbit of American influence primarily because India was not prepared to come to terms with this country on any one of the Indo-Pakistan disputes and the undisguised hostility of Indian leaders made it necessary for this country to search for friends abroad. Pakistan's joining hands with the American coalition against Communism seemed perfectly compatible with its loyalty to Islam. This alliance was subsequently strengthened by Pakistan's own requirements. The industrial assets of the country were negligible in 1947 and it was keen to launch a vigorous programme of industrialization. Friendship with America promised numerous facilities in this sphere.

First to be signed in a series of pacts was an agreement of friendly co-operation between Turkey and Pakistan in April 1954. This was followed by the Mutual Assistance Agreement with the U.S.A. The next step was Pakistan's entry into the regional defence organization of Baghdad Pact and the South East Asia Treaty Organization. The former included Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and Britain and was renamed Central Treaty Organization after the Iraqi revolution of 1958 when the headquarters of the organization were removed to Ankara. These arrangements increased Pakistan's contacts with the outside world, but some of their long-term results were not satisfactory.

The United Arab Republic could not reconcile itself to Iraq's entry into a non-Arab association and was critical of Pakistan's role in the whole affair. Pakistan's foreign policy also became an anathema to the USSR whose leaders recognized India's unlawful occupation of Kashmir and supported the Afghan demand for Pakhtoonistan. The earlier prospects of a friendly China receded into the background as Pakistan's representatives showed no interest in the seating of China in the United Nations.

The dangers of this one-sided policy unfolded themselves as the balance of world forces changed gradually. Soviet Russia became a nuclear power and established its lead in the race for the conquest of space. The strong and effective Russian threat to use force in the Middle East in the Suez crisis of 1956 proved that the last word in the management of world affairs did not rest with the Western alliance. The end of colonialism in Asia and Africa brought new states into the United Nations whose representatives spoke the neutralist language. Moreover, the United Nations was no longer a predominantly white club that it was in the early 50s. The government of the mainland of China was putting its own house in order and was bound to make a bid for its proper place in Asia. India became America's protege by accepting American nomination for Asia's leadership. The American attitude towards non-committed nations changed abruptly showing a major shift in the United States policy in South Asia: Formerly described as immoral, neutralism came to be recognized as a respectable political philosophy. This caused considerable heart-searching in this country. The utility of American alliance was doubtful if the uncommitted countries had an advantage over friendly nations. But this was not all. America's effort to build India into the 'bastion of democracy' in the East had grave implications for Pakistan because India's military and political leaders have openly proclaimed that their military preparations are mainly directed against this country, although America does not share Pakistan's apprehensions on this point. India's expansionist policy is not secret. The subjugation of the territories of Kashmir, Hyderabad, Junagarh, Manavadar and Goa is a clear evidence of India's territorial greed. One of India's foremost foreign policy experts, K.M. Pannikar, stated bluntly that any interference by a foreign power

in the affairs of Afghanistan, Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, Cambodia, Laos and Thailand "would be interpreted as a threat to India's security". He did not mention Pakistan by name but evidently he includes this country in the sphere of Indian influence. If America accepts this view of India's responsibilities in Asia, Pakistan is obviously a loser by associating itself with the various regional defence arrangements.

Pakistan stood in a state of dangerous isolation by the time Muhammad Ayub Khan took over as President. His Government undoubtedly inherited a difficult charge. Nevertheless, it proceeded cautiously and revised its policies in the light of experience. The causes of estrangement with the Arab countries were removed. The U.A.R. showed a better appreciation of our role and policies. The Republican Iraq proved as friendly as the regime it had supplanted. Diplomatic breach with Afghanistan was healed. The Russian offer of assistance in exploring oil deposits in Pakistan was accepted in 1962 and the Sino-Pakistan boundaries were settled next year. The establishment of closer ties with countries outside the Western alliance ended the era of Pakistan's diplomatic isolation. But an independent foreign policy developed strains with the older allies. The United States' disapproval was brought home to this country in no uncertain terms as its administration abruptly stopped, one after another, the promised aid for important development projects in spite of the fact that these projects had been started with the consent of its own agencies and some high American officials had given unstinted praise to Pakistan's ability to make the maximum use of aid. By withholding their own share of the aid for our Third Plan the United States leaders confirmed the suspicion that American professions of aid without strings were at variance with facts.

The limited war between India and China in the fall of 1962 produced some very astounding results. China had no intention of extending hostilities to the mainland of India, yet India demanded and obtained a heavy arms aid from America in spite of the fact that her Prime Minister had categorically rejected President Ayub's earlier offer of assistance in repelling a possible foreign invasion of the subcontinent. In the midst of this war America made a feeble attempt to persuade India to settle the Kashmir

issue with Pakistan. In the round of talks that followed India repeated her theories of democratic secularism and disowned, once again, the obligation of holding a plebiscite in Kashmir that she had accepted under the Security Council resolutions. The result was a yet greater estrangement between the two countries. India always improvises reasons for rejecting outside mediation in the settlement of disputes with Pakistan while she freely advises this course to others. India also exploited Russo-Chinese antagonism to her own advantage and obtained destructive weapons from the USSR in its 'expected' trial of strength with China. Thus, America and Russia are both competing for India's friendship and the principal leaders in the cold war have discovered some common interests. India is but one of these.

Industrial Progress

The Industrial Development Act of 1949 represented the first important step in the formulation of the country's industrial policy. This law vested the control and management of some 27 industries in the Central Government. None of the industries specified in the statute could be established in any part of the country without prior sanction of the Central authorities. Pakistan's great handicaps in the industrial field were the dearth of capital and skill. The Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC) was established in 1951. This semi-Government corporation had immense resources and its main purpose was to start industries for which private initiative was not fully equipped. It was able to set up jute and paper mills and these were turned over to private buyers as soon as they were firmly established. The Korean boom was followed by a depression in which Pakistan's foreign exchange reserves fell sharply. A drastic reduction in the imports and increase in tariffs created helpful conditions for the industrialists who grasped the opportunity readily. The state allotted generous quotas of foreign exchange and allowed long tax holidays to industries. Considerable assistance was also received from foreign capital and skill. Consequently, there was a remarkable outburst of industrial activity. But much of this progress was achieved in the absence of foreign competition. Indigenous products commanded high prices and factory-owners made fabulous profits.

The Revolutionary Government wanted to cry halt to some of these unhealthy tendencies by imposing price controls, launching a vigorous drive against hoarding, smuggling and black-marketing, replenishing the treasury by collecting taxes on hidden wealth and augmenting foreign exchange reserves by diversion to Pakistan of private holdings in foreign banks. The industrialists were frightened by these measures and the progress of industry slowed down for a while. But the Government lost no time in correcting the impression. It reduced the rate of super-tax, extended the tax holiday, first relaxed and then abolished controls and introduced the export bonus scheme. These measures restored confidence and accelerated the rate of industrial progress. In this way self-sufficiency has been achieved in respect of textiles and jute goods and the country is also able to produce the needed quantities of cigarettes, matches, soap and woollens. Heavy industries like newsprint, cement and chemicals are still in the formative stage but deficiency of power has been largely removed by the completion of a number of multi-purpose hydro projects.

Agriculture is the basic industry of Pakistan. But it received little attention for a whole decade after Independence. The majority of landlords in West Pakistan showed no enthusiasm for increasing production by scientific farming. They even left sizable parts of their estates uncultivated and bureaucratic formalities impeded speedy settlement on lands made available by the completion of irrigation schemes. In 1959, the Divisional Commissioners were authorised to take over all lands kept unploughed for three consecutive years. This together with the land reforms ensured maximum utilization of available lands.

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